# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-177* *13 September 1988*

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## Vice Minister Talks to GDR Officials on Trade

*AU1009160088 Tirana ATA in French 0945 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] Tirana, 10 Sep (ATA)—Kostandin Hoxha, vice minister for foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who has been taking part in the Leipzig Autumn International Fair in the GDR, has had a meeting with Dieter Lemke, GDR deputy foreign trade minister, at which the trade protocol for 1988-89 was discussed.

During his stay in Leipzig, Kostandin Hoxha was received by Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR foreign trade minister. In the course of this reception, views were exchanged on the expansion of bilateral trade. He was also received separately by Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister for the construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles; by the minister of light industry; and by the minister for ore mining, metallurgy, and potash.

Ilir Bocka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the GDR, was also present at these meetings.

## Soviet Policy of Restructuring Criticized

*AU1209182988 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 7 Sep 88 p 3-4*

[Artan Fuga article: "The 'Restructuring' of Soviet Philosophy Helps To Entrench Capitalism"]

[Text] The campaign mounted by the Soviet revisionists to "restructure" society, which means to further entrench capitalism in the Soviet Union, has enveloped, besides the economy, such other ideological fields as philosophy. The party leadership, the daily political press, and specialist journals particularly stress the demand that Soviet philosophy should support "restructuring" and place itself more in its service. It is the task of philosophy, they say, to help "restructure ways of thinking."

It is natural that the process of the further embourgeoisement of Soviet society through "restructuring" should be matched in philosophy by a still more open, general, and direct assault on Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninist principles, laws, and philosophical categories. For this purpose, the modern Soviet revisionist philosophers have devised the notion of what they call a "self-critical stance" as a feature of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. "Every true study of one sphere or another of culture or social practice," Soviet philosophical literature asserts, "includes within itself a self-critical analysis of philosophy itself, and especially of the concepts on which the analysis itself is based." Enough said. According to this idea, the Marxist-Leninist concepts by which the analysis is said to be conducted must be viewed in a "self-critical" way: in other words, revised, reviewed, and changed. That we are dealing here with an outright call for an even more comprehensive assault on dialectical materialist philosophy is also evident in the similarities between this and other slogans and views of this kind. "Modern developments," PRAVDA asserts, "must not be understood through old formulas." At a time when scientific socialism long ago unfolded its principles and criteria, Gorbachev himself now demands a fresh definition of the distinction between socialism and capitalism. "The need is arising," he has said, "to define criteria for distinguishing what is truly socialist from what is alien to socialism." It is implied that these basic criteria, which according to him now need to be formulated, will be different and opposed to those criteria and principles that the founders of Marxism considered as valid for distinguishing a true socialist society.

It is well known that the formulation of the general laws of nature, thought, and society was never accomplished once and for all. It was the fruit of highly creative labor and titanic efforts to arrive at comprehensive and universal principles through scientific research, with reformulations and additions. Marxism, which did not arise outside the context of mankind's earlier theoretical thinking, could not be created in a conclusive way in the blink of an eye. However, it is equally clear that to now demand the reconsideration of Marxism's basic categories, when its contents have now broadly become clear, means an outright attack on Marxism.

One of the leading articles of the periodical VOPROSY FILOSOFII cites Lenin's work "Materialism and Empirical Criticism" as an example of the "self-critical" attitude of our classics to their philosophy. In fact, anybody who reads this work objectively cannot fail to be struck by the very opposite, and by Lenin's struggle to affirm and defend the philosophical categories and principles discovered by Marx and Engels against the "critics." Lenin's ideas on the two fundamental lines of philosophy, and on truth, matter, time, space, and so forth, affirm their ideas. It is no coincidence that Lenin inserts ample passages from them into his works and refers directly to the philosophical thinking of Marx and Engels.

With the aim of "restructuring" philosophy, efforts are being made to use tactical and temporary formulations and standpoints of the Marxist-Leninist classics as general laws for socialist construction, while their final conclusions are denied outright. Lenin's attitude to the New Economic Policy is well known. Under the extremely backward conditions of the Russia of the time, with its pronounced vestiges of feudalism, of a natural economy, and so forth, the socialist state was unable to instantly liquidate the private sector by means of orders and decrees, but only through the "'reorganization' of the entire economy." But, quite apart from his pragmatic attitude which permitted a temporary survival of the private sector, Lenin argued that, from a principled viewpoint, a capitalist private sector is alien to socialism. "Capitalism," Lenin wrote, "is an evil in comparison with socialism."

Meanwhile, the revisionists seek to integrate the private sector into the concept of socialism. Gorbachev has said that criteria for socialism must be found, "since, as progress is made and new features come about, the question emerges of where we are going, and whether we are not deviating from socialism." Indeed, if private enterprises are growing, one may well ask "Where are we going?"—but it is only necessary to change people's criteria for socialism, and everything is worked out!

The Soviet revisionists put forward their reforms in dual form: perestroyka and glasnost. The capitalist decentralization of the economy and the expansion of the private sector, they say, will complement glasnost and a broad "democracy" for everybody in political and ideological life. Many facts in the experience of history show that autocracy, repression, and lack of democracy are not characteristics solely of strongly centralized, antagonistic societies, such as czarist Russia was. Societies with the most decentralized, liberal capitalist economies have also produced police states and juntas without democratic rights. Did not the dictatorships of the shah of Iran, Pinochet, Somoza, and the fascist dictatorships in the Phillippines and Haiti grow on the soil of capitalism and private property?

The revisionist philosophers talk about freedom of criticism, pure democracy, and "socialist plurality of viewpoints" in the sphere of philosophy and political life as a whole. In fact, glasnost is not pure democracy, nor is it for everyone. In the statements of leaders or in the ideas of Soviet philosophers, the limits of freedom are soon visible: Only what serves "restructuring" or the present course of the Soviet leadership is free. "We are in favor of a large-scale development of freedom and glasnost," Gorbachev has declared, "in order to eradicate everything that hinders the process of perestroyka."

There are also restrictions of rights and freedoms in the revisionist party. This was shown recently when it was announced that the criterion for selecting delegates to the Soviet party conference would not involve the proportional selection necessary to represent the entire party, but would be loyalty to perestroyka!

Facts have also recently shown afresh what democracy and glasnost mean: the use of violence to solve national questions and the reapproval of the military aggression against Czechoslovakia. The "restructuring" of Soviet philosophy is also casting its eyes toward the history of philosophy. Schools and currents of philosophical thought are divided into two groups: the dogmatic and the critical. The leading article mentioned above states that "It is a well-known fact from the history of philosophy that many forms of knowledge have had not a critical but a dogmatic character." In contrast to dogmatic theories, this assertion implies, critical theories are automatically thought to be positive and rational. The conclusion is obvious. The "critical" and "self-critical" spirit of modern Soviet philosophy seems justified by mankind's philosophical traditions.

In fact, not merely dogmatism, but many critical currents of thought have achieved notoriety in the history of philosophy. It is not merely a matter of being critical, but of whom you criticize and from what standpoint. Nietzsche's philosophy is well-known for its nihilist spirit and its efforts to reject all culture and tradition, but this did not prevent it from becoming a theoretical platform for Nazi-fascism. The empirical critics also put "the criticism of experience" at the center of their philosophy, but, as Lenin explained long ago, they were among those who caused the crisis in physics.

The Soviet revisionist philosophers consider it dogmatic to affirm the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. According to them, all forms of philosophy must be "self-critical," and thus completely deny their own foundations. Moreover, the rightist, opportunist ideas of Bukharin and company are being taken up again and presented as the last word in sociology. This plagiarism is not considered in the least dogmatic.

Comrade Enver Hoxha scientifically argued that the attack on Stalin would help the Khrushchevites to strike at and obliterate socialism in the Soviet Union. There, if some appearances of socialism have been formally maintained in property or in some structures of state organization, their content has in essence changed. The creation of castes, national oppression, the degeneration of spiritual life, and aggression in foreign policy have struck deep roots. Now, the process of embourgeoisement is deepening. The socialist content of property relations and justice, which was obliterated long ago, is no longer the object of attack. Now the attack is also against the outward or institutional form, which has up till now served as a mask to conceal the true capitalist reality of the Soviet Union. The aim to change these things too has been one of the reasons, within the context of "restructuring" philosophy, for further intensifying the unbridled campaign against Stalin.

In all its ingredients and characteristics, the "restructuring" campaign in philosophy aims to justify the deepening embourgeoisement of Soviet society. As such, it is part of the campaign mounted by Gorbachev that Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the Ninth AWP Congress, called "a demagogic campaign whose purpose is to deceive and lull to sleep the Soviet peoples."

### Fourth Volume of Hoxha's Diary Published

*AU1009185488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] The fourth volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's diary containing entries from 1962, has come off the press and has been placed on sale. Its entries testify to the particular care shown by our dear and unforgettable leader for the problems of the party and the nation, for the self-denying labor of the people in the nation's socialist construction, the course of international events, the world communist movement, the defense of Marxism-Leninism, and other things. The entries were not

only written in Tirana, but in some other districts of the country where he paid visits and (?wrote his impressions), such as Shkoder, Fier, Vlore, Tepelene, Gjirokaster, Elbasan, Durres, Pogradec, Korce, and other places.

## Cultural Agreement Signed With Yugoslavia

*AU0909192288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] The program of cooperation in the fields of science, education, and culture between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the FEC of the SFRY for 1988-1989 was signed in Belgrade today. The program was signed for the Albanian side by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, and for the Yugoslav side by Marijan Strbasic, director of the Federal International Scientific, Educational, Cultural, and Technical Cooperation Administration.

The program provides for exchanges in the fields of science, education, culture, and sports; the exchange of researchers in various fields, artistic ensembles, sports groups, and so forth. It also anticipates the conclusion of agreements between the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Academies of Sciences of the SFRY, between the Enver Hoxha University of Tirana and universities in Yugoslavia, and so on.

Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the FEC of the SFRY Assembly, received Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries. Kujtim Hysenaj, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the SFRY, was also present at the reception.

## Leaders' Public Appearances 4-10 Sep Reported

AU1009185288 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 4-10 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Foto Cami and Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended the proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Albanian Union of Physical Culture and Sports in Tirana on 5 and 6 September. (1800 GMT 5, 6 September)

Muho Asllani and Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended a rally in Shkoder commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Battle of Rec on 4 September. (1800 GMT 4 September) Asllani also attended the opening of a secondary school in Breglum, Shkoder District, on 8 September, (1800 GMT 8 September) and a conference of innovators and rationalizers in Shkoder on 9 September. (1800 GMT 9 September)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a national day reception at the DPRK Embassy in Tirana on 8 September (1800 GMT 8 September), and the Tirana District Conference of Innovators and Rationalizers in Tirana on 9 September. (1800 GMT 9 September)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a conference of innovators and rationalizers in Korce on 9 September. (1800 GMT 9 September)

## CPSU Politburo Member Lev Zaykov Visits 12 Sep

### Meets With Zhivkov

*AU1209181188 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)—Bulgaria's party and state leader Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU and first secretary of the Moscow Committee of the CPSU, who is on brief working visit to this country, discussed today a wide range of theoretical and practical questions of the restructuring in Bulgaria and in the USSR.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, noted with satisfaction the principled coincidence of the chief aims and tasks of the restructuring in the two countries. For Bulgaria the restructuring is the only possible road to the strengthening, development and opening of the entire creative potential of socialism, for expression of all its social and humanist features, for resolution of the problems of social development in interest of the people.

It was noted at the meeting that the innovative processes in Bulgaria and in the Soviet Union raise the prestige of the BCP and the CPSU, increase their leading role as a political vanguard in the struggle for democratization of society, that the main efforts of the Bulgarian and the Soviet Communists, of the working people in both countries at present are oriented toward implementation of the decisions that have been taken in life.

It was pointed out that the radical restructuring in all spheres of life in Bulgaria and in the USSR creates new broad opportunities for raising of the all-around cooperation and getting-closer between the fraternal countries on a qualitatively new level, that the need of searching new forms of interaction between the BCP and the CPSU acquires ever greater importance.

It was pointed out that the economic strategy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is oriented toward the development and transference of vanguard technologies, toward accelerated mastering of the achievements of science and technology. In this connection was noted the role of the new integration forms of cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union for the increase of the efficiency of the mutual economic relations.

The two sides viewed questions referring to the strengthening of the cooperation between the local bodies of the BCP and the CPSU and stressed that the friendly relations between Sofia and Moscow are called to set an example for fruitful contacts.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov conveyed most cordial greetings to the Soviet party leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as the Bulgarian people's sincere feelings of fraternal friendship to the Soviet people.

Mr. Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr. Ivan Panev, first secretary of the Sofia Town's Committee of the BCP, took part in the talk.

### Meets BCP Sofia City Bureau

*AU1209181788 Sofia BTA in English 1716 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)—Mr. Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of CPSU, first secretary of the Moscow Town Committee of the CPSU, who arrived today in this country on a working visit met with the Bureau of the Sofia Town Committee of the BCP and the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council.

Mr. Ivan Panev, first secretary of the Sofia Town Committee of the BCP, and the Soviet guest informed each other on the tasks solved by the BCP and CPSU and by the Sofia and Moscow Party Organizations in the process of restructuring, which is taking place in all spheres of social life in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. They noted with satisfaction the agreement on principle of the aims and tasks of the renovating processes, giving wide possibilities to raise to a new stage mutual cooperation on a national level and in particular of relations between Sofia and Moscow.

It was pointed out that the processes of restructuring, taking place in Bulgaria, in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries correspond to the new conditions in the world and that the dynamics and development of restructuring in Bulgaria would have been impossible without the fundamental changes in the Soviet country and that the present talks are a contribution to international experience and restructuring.

The two sides discussed concrete issues in the party work of the Sofia and Moscow Party Organizations and considered the achievements the ways and means for overcoming the difficulties along the mapped out way. [sentence as received]

Mr. Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, took part in the conversation.

## Filipov Delivers Speech at National Day Rally

*AU1209193188 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 9 Sep 88 p 2*

[Speech by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, at festive meeting in the Sofia Georgi Kirkov Hall on 8 September to mark the Bulgarian National Day—the anniversary of the 9 September 1944 Socialist Revolution]

[Text] Comrades, we are celebrating an historic anniversary today. It is our greatest holiday—the very first day of free, socialist Bulgaria. This date—9 September

1944—marked the greatest revolutionary change in the Bulgarian people's 13 century history. This event speeded up our country's development by a whole era, placing it in the front ranks of social progress.

The 9 September 1944 Socialist Revolution was the logical result of long struggles waged by the workers class and people's masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against capitalism and monarchal fascism.

With legitimate pride we point out that our revolution was part of the world revolutionary process, a repetition of the main and basic elements of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was accomplished in Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin.

The date of 9 September 1944 will forever remain brilliant, historical evidence of the transforming power of the ideas of scientific socialism and a symbol of the revolutionary spirit, wisdom, and foresight of the BCP, a symbol of the Bulgarian people's enormous revolutionary strength and inexhaustible, creative spirit.

The nationwide celebration of the 9 September 1944 anniversary expresses reverence for the great exploits and sacrifices of the thousands of Communist fighters, Socialist Workers Youth members, united agrarians, and nonparty members who rallied around the Fatherland Front—their savior—and in this alliance achieved their long-awaited freedom.

On this day, we pay our tribute of glory and gratitude to the Soviet Union and the invincible Soviet Army, with whose decisive assistance the monarchal fascist dictatorship was overthrown.

Assessing our development from the height of our 44-year-old development since the 9 September 1944 revolution, we must admit that these were years of building socialist society in our country, years of basic innovation, and ascending development in Bulgaria, a development which is in conformity with the goals and ideals of socialism and communism.

The victorious advance of revolution would not have been the same without our party's lofty ideological-political and theoretical achievement—the Dimitrov program for building the foundations of socialism—and without the selfless enthusiasm of the first builders.

Socialist Bulgaria would not have been the same as it is today, without the historic achievements of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. This plenum rejected voluntarism, dogmatism, and the personality cult, and restored the Leninist principles and norms of party life; it preserved, developed, and enriched the assets of the 9 September Revolution, and shaped the BCP's general April Plenum policy, to which the greatest successes of socialist construction are linked.

The April period—this was the era of steady economic upsurge, the years in which the social product increased over 10 times, and the national income nearly 9 times. These were years in which a powerful material-technical base was built and industrial branches were developed which are the bearers of scientific-technical progress today. Our economy opened up to the world and we achieved a relatively high and stable standard of living for our people. Our small country—Bulgaria—joined the family of states in space. The April period was an era of thorough social and political changes, connected with the further democratization of society, with the prosperity of our cultural life. The Bulgarian socialist nation was further consolidated and our national self-confidence increased. Bulgarian's international prestige was enhanced, friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, and above all, with the Soviet Union, were intensified. The era of the April Plenum was a period of progress, without crises and stagnation phenomena. Our motherland entered into competition with the advanced countries of the world.

Comrades, today we celebrate our National Day in an era of change. This is an era of decisive importance, a time of restructuring. Our efforts today are aimed at a drastic change in the development of socialism in Bulgaria. In doing so, we are not only pursuing, but are further developing the basic ideas of our glorious 9 September revolution.

The requirements of the new era are the basis of the strategic line pursued by the BCP for a qualitatively new growth, confirmed by the 13th BCP Congress and by the July concept on the further construction of socialism in our country, which was approved by the BCP National Conference in 1988. With Leninist courage and enthusiasm, the BCP developed the goals, tasks, and approaches for the achievement of new successes and glorious new deeds in the future of our homeland.

The July concept solved the crucial problems raised by the new historical realities all over the world and in our country—the problems of how and by what means to pursue the construction of socialism in Bulgaria within the forthcoming 20-30 years. Scientific-technical revolution requires a qualitatively new development of productive forces. This revolution, however, also promoted the development of weapons capable of destroying mankind and the civilization it has created. For the sake of our socialist development and for the survival of all mankind, the socialist countries embarked upon a new stage in their development. We could not help drawing our conclusions from the new realities, we could not help adopting basically new political and practical actions.

An analysis carried out with a Marxist-Leninist approach and thoroughness by our party and its Central Committee, by its Politburo, and its general secretary demonstrated that we do not simply need improvements and the perfection of our hitherto accomplished achievements, but profound revolutionary changes in all fields

of social life, that we do not need just a further development of the existing model, but a transition to a new model of socialism, a model that should conform to the new realities in our country and all over the world.

What is the ultimate purpose of this model?

The strategic goal we pursue is the requirement to achieve a level of socialism in our country that will determine our society as a highly developed, vigorous society, open to all innovations, and capable of ensuring a highly diversified material existence and a cultural upsurge, capable of guaranteeing the optimal implementation of all just and humanitarian principles.

We are talking about creating a form of socialism in Bulgaria that will focus on His Majesty the Individual, on his harmonious development as a worker, a creative personality, and a consumer, as the central figure of our society. We are talking about socialism that should be boldly and uncompromisingly freed of all the outdated and stagnating elements in its development which prevent innovation.

This is the qualitatively new type of socialism today, toward which the victorious progress of our 9 September revolution is advancing.

The thorough restructuring of our society is an organic part of the powerful innovative process involving the socialist countries today. Restructuring in our country is relying upon the experience of fraternal parties and countries. Just as the main and basic aspect of our 9 September Socialist Revolution, coincided with the Great October Revolution, the basic goals and tasks of our restructuring coincide with the restructuring process taking place in the Soviet Union. The scope and dynamic pace of our restructuring would be unthinkable without the drastic changes that have been going on in the Soviet country since the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

We should point out with pride that the July concept originated from real life and is aimed at real life. It is based on Marxism-Leninism and is the result of a prolonged analysis, accomplished by the party's collective mind. Nevertheless, historical truth demands that we should point out the undoubted personal contribution made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Just as he revealed himself as the source of inspiration and the architect of the April line, he is now the initiator and organizer of the qualitative innovation of socialism in Bulgaria.

Comrades, the July concept and the decisions adopted by the BCP National Conference in 1988 are a new qualitative implementation of the bright, communist ideals for the sake of which the 9 September 1944 socialist revolution was accomplished in Bulgaria. The aforementioned concept and decisions widely promoted the objective laws of our society and mapped out the principles and approaches that should be our guidelines in the further construction of socialism.

Being revolutionary in their essence, the July concept and the BCP National Conference decisions serve as instruments for our qualitative new approach in further solving the main issue—the issue of power. It is impossible to accomplish a total innovation of socialist society today without transforming this society into a self-managing one. In coping with this task, we use as a basis the experience of the communist movement, of the Paris Commune, and the experience of the October Revolution, in particular. Our own experience, as well, plays an important role, in this respect, especially as regards the period following the 9 September revolution, when the Fatherland Front committees acted as bodies of power, and the same applies to the present-day experience of applying the social-state and state-social principles.

The transition to self-managing society does not signify a change in the nature of socialist government. It applies to the elevation of the people's power on the basis of the principle of self-management and to the elimination of the present-day administrative-bureaucratic system, which has permeated all political structures; it applies to the establishment of real people's self-management, and to making a transition from power in the "people's name" to "power by the people themselves." We are talking about transforming the people into a subject of power and into exponents and implementors of power; we are talking about the implementation of a revolution in social relations from the "bottom to the top." This is the crucial issue of restructuring.

Along with the comprehensive consolidation of the self-management principle, a new type of social organization is emerging, namely a broad, self-managing, mass organization. This organization does not recognize any power above the people's will. This is how the dreams of many generations of fighters who were longing for a free, lofty, humanitarian civic society in the sense of Marx will become true.

Today the July concept and the decisions of the BCP National Conference are promoting the basic postulate of Marxism-Leninism and of our revolution on the decisive role of productive forces in our society to a qualitatively new level. The aforementioned concept and decisions quite correctly stress that the further building of socialism should be accomplished on a new basis, on the basis of a new type of productive forces, optimally connected with introducing intellectual assets in all spheres, including the production sector. It is only on this basis that it will be possible to accomplish a radical change in production relations, both at the base and in the superstructure, as well as in the working and living conditions of our contemporaries.

In responding to this necessity a new structural and technological policy is in preparation; a new system of organization and economic management is in the process of development. The main problem today is the technological innovation of production; the establishment of scientifically based and flexible production; production that is able to compete; and production which is not only producing single commodities, but advanced technologies, technological equipment, and technological systems. The development of productive forces must be based on a synthesis of science, information, and computer technology, as well as upon our country's active participation in the international division of labor, in socialist economic integration, and upon our closest links with the Soviet economy.

Bulgaria is entering a new stage of development today and is engaged in implementating a crucial issue of our revolution, namely the question of property. The qualitatively new state of socialism requires a fundamental change in our hitherto existing attitude to socialist property.

Socialist property is the basis of our system and will continue to be so. It remains uniform and indivisible. The innovation in connection with socialist property today is that it should exist and expand in a variety of forms of management, based on state, cooperative, municipal, private, and other principles. All these are forms of socialist property, forms based on equal rights which are competing with each other for the sake of achieving the best economic and social results.

Along with placing the objects of socialist property under the management and administration of labor collectives, of primary collectives, and territorial communities, in particular, it has become possible to overcome the anonymous nature of socialist property and to eliminate from it the existing alienation. Along with their new rights, obligations, and responsibilities, labor collectives and the local population are granted opportunities for fully implementing the ideal of the 9 September revolution. Namely, that every working man should act as the owner of socialist property and have the feeling that the respective plant, machine, and land on which he is working are his own, so that the most powerful asset of our society—the spirit of enterprise and creativity, the intellect and will of the Bulgarian citizens—may be fully implemented.

Today the revolutionary innovation of society is linked to a qualitative elevation of the socialist state and to a new manifestation of the principles of democratic centralism. A form of organization of government and administration in which the decisive say belongs to the people is required today.

Along with the transition to self-managing society, the role of the people's democratic state established by the 9 September revolution is by no means declining. In liberating itself from numerous outdated functions, the state can focus its efforts upon the main goal—the strategic leadership of society— and it will be able to act as an instrument of the people's power. The forms, essence and methods of work of all state organs are changing. They are becoming organs of self-management and are exerting their functions mainly through economic methods and regulators.

Along with changes in the role and place of our people's democratic state, along with granting extensive power to the labor collectives and municipalities, the principle of democratic centralism is increasingly applied with ever growing efficiency. This principle is freed of the former distortions and bureaucratization of centralism. The focus is now shifting from centralism to democracy, from the top of the pyramid to the base—namely to self-managing organizations, to labor collectives, and to the municipalities. Endowed with their new rights and responsibilities they are granted the creative power of adopting decisions. There is no other way of achieving an effective democratization of our society, no other method for the people to manifest themselves as subjects of power, no other method of expressing the true people's power.

The new stage of our development is linked to the enhanced leading and guiding role of the BCP.

Our party was the striking force of the 9 September socialist revolution, it played a decisive role in our successes during the last 44 years of successful development. Today the BCP is again the motor of the present, revolutionary innovation, the political vanguard of our society, the source of new, revolutionary ideas, and the organizer of the struggle for radical changes.

Today the party of the Bulgarian Communists is freeing itself from functions of hierarchical "stages" in state power, from its role of chief subject of power. The party and state organs cannot only be partners, but also opponents, whenever this becomes necessary. The main thing is that the innovative processes in society should be influenced by political means and that the rights of the Communists should be expanded, their obligations should be specified, and their role within labor collectives, territorial organs, and all other organs and institutions should be enhanced.

The social organizations, such as the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, and the Komsomol are involved in a restructuring process as well. The unity between the BCP and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] is being promoted to a new stage. Various voluntary citizens' associations are playing a role of particular importance. Socialist pluralism is developing.

All these are new landmarks in the development of socialist revolution in our country.

Comrades, the ideas of socialism were victorious during the revolution and in socialist construction on Bulgarian territory, because they conquered the people's hearts and minds, because they became their credo and the guideline of all their activities.

Today, while we are engaged in an extensive transformation of socialism, the people are once again called upon to ensure the prerequisites and guarantees for the success of our cause. Only if the spirit, essence, and enthusiastic appeal of restructuring deeply inspires the millions of people and become the source of their practical actions, will restructuring be implemented.

Preconditions exist for this, because the restructuring which is now under way in our country serves the people's interests. It is to the benefit of the public and is distinguished by an active and effective social policy. Restructuring is the basis for an uncompromising application of the principle of socialist justice.

The social, economic, and cultural interests of the people are reactivated precisely on this basis. The individual interests of all working people are promoted on a priority basis. This is the necessary condition for the implementation of social and collective interests.

This is precisely why a new social atmosphere is being created in our country with the purpose of making all working people vitally interested in the implementation of restructuring. This atmosphere is to act as an incentive for all citizens in our society, encouraging them to engage in selfless efforts for a great goal. The expansion of socialist democracy serves this goal, the radical change in cultural activities; the intensification of the scientific potential; the development of a new information policy, glasnost; and the elaboration of a new model for the educational system; as well as the development of a new social consciousness of the working people—all these innovations serve the same goal. Placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives and the population in the municipalities; the development of a flexible planning system; the development of a basically new economic mechanism; the elaboration of new conditions for the full implementation of the law on values and commodity-monetary relations; enhancing the role of banks and the market, the establishment of a new price-setting system and wage system; the extensive introduction of self-financing and self-sufficiency; the establishment of an updated labor organization system; the application of the piecework and lease system, and the expansion of socialist competition—all these innovative measures also serve the same goal.

We are awaiting the introduction of a legal reform through the elaboration of new laws, including essential amendments to our Constitution. Our ambition is to establish in our country the most extensive socialist democracy, and to become a model constitutional state.

There is no doubt that such a new atmosphere will ensure the implementation of the revolutionary cause of innovation.

The first results produced by the work we accomplished since the remarkable July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1987 justify our optimism and encourage us to apply the July plenum strategy even more confidently in our constructive work.

The economic management reform which is under way is gathering momentum. Self-managing organizations in the economic sector have already been established and are asserting themselves, and the same applies to the territorial self-government organs. The economic levers and regulators play a role of primary importance in our economic management. An essential revival of economic life is taking hold in our country. The rates of economic growth increased by 4-5 points, and this is mainly due to intensive factors of development factors.

The artificial ranks and attributes of power are gradually vanishing. The BCP Central Committee Plenum in July 1988 developed and adopted a scientifically based platform for restructuring in the intellectual sphere.

We are fully justified in stating today that the July concept had a lasting and irreversible effect upon the people's consciousness, and that restructuring remains an irreversible process.

It is true that this is only a beginning. From now on the revolutionary innovation upon which we have engaged will develop in a convincing manner and on a large scale. There will also be difficulties along this path. However, we will not be defeated by them. We will overcome them with persevering efforts, with the intellect and courage of all our society, of every individual citizen.

This means that everyone should bear responsibility for solving strategic tasks and current problems in his own plant, brigade, and municipality. We should guarantee the implementation of the plan for the current year and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan period as a whole. We must consolidate discipline in all places. We must gather all crops in the fields during harvest time. We must increase economic efficiency and production quality. We should promptly improve the state of our domestic market and give new incentives to the self-managing socialist communities, we should also apply the new economic mechanisms more consistently. These are some of the most important criteria of restructuring today.

Comrades, our foreign policy, as well as the policy of the fraternal socialist states is built on the basis of the new philosophy for international relations, on the basis of new political thinking. Justice requires us to say that the Soviet Union, the Soviet party and state leadership have earned great credit in this respect. The survival and progress of mankind permit no alternative to peaceful coexistence, to cooperation among peoples.

As an active participant in the development of the foreign policy initiatives and proposals of the socialist countries, Bulgaria shares with them the satisfaction over the first results of this policy. The present-day world has become different from yesterday's. As was stated at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries in 1988: Positive trends are increasingly asserting themselves on the international scene. A transition from confrontation to cooperation is under way, and the threat of nuclear war is fading into the distance.

Today we have every reason to state that qualitatively new conditions have been created for the expansion of the efforts devoted to universal security. The Soviet-American dialogue is stable and dynamic. The military-political confrontation between East and West is decreasing. Real opportunities exist for a 50-percent reduction in the strategic-nuclear potentials of the USSR and the United States, under the strict observance of the INF Treaty; for a universal and total banning of nuclear tests, for the complete banning of chemical weapons, for the destruction of their stockpiles; for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals; and for the implementation of the concept of a common "European home." New political thinking reveals methods and approaches for settling the most complicated and sharp regional conflicts in our contemporary world. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan are a good example in this respect.

Within the framework of its possibilities, the People's Republic of Bulgaria works indefatigably for the preservation of world peace, for disarmament, and to improve the atmosphere in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world.

The chief goal of our foreign policy will continue to be the consolidation of our relations with socialist countries and, in the first place, our friendship and comprehensive drawing together with the Soviet Union. Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev earned tremendous credit in this respect when, during their meetings and talks, they mapped out new guidelines for our bilateral cooperation under the conditions of the restructuring process. On this basis, it became possible to elevate Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

For the sake of peace, our country is constantly seeking paths for mutually advantageous cooperation with developed capitalist countries, on the basis of economic relations based on equal rights. We are consistently implementing our international duty toward the developing countries.

We devote indefatigable efforts to make positive trends prevail in the Balkans' international life. We actively participated in the first meeting of ministers of foreign affairs from Balkan countries, held in Belgrade. In June 1988 we hosted the first meeting of high-ranking representatives of ministries of foreign affairs from Balkan countries.

Our country actively contributes to transforming the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone. We adopted practical steps for the implementation of our idea on the ecological protection of the Balkans. We are guided by the rule that emerging problems in our area should be settled by peaceful means, in the spirit of understanding and good-neighborly relations.

Our contemporary world is multifaceted, controversial, and mutually dependent. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make its worthy contribution to the survival of man and mankind in his natural environment—the planet earth.

Comrades, 44 years have elapsed since the 9 September victory. These were years of triumph for the ideas and the cause of our revolution, years of creative efforts and progress, years of a comprehensive upsurge in our country.

The present generations are taking over the torch of historic responsibility for the innovation of socialism in our country and for transforming Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state. It is our duty to give a new impetus to revolution, and thus accomplish a great new step along the path of socialism and communism.

Our present duty and our decisive call today is to totally implement the thorough restructuring of society which we have initiated. We have enough strength and we constantly gain our power from the sources of conviction, selfless devotion, and enthusiasm which inspired those who achieved the victory of the glorious 9 September revolution, and those who have been building Bulgaria's socialist future for over 40 years.

The cause of the 9 September revolution is still alive. This cause lives on in the revolutionary innovation of socialism. This is a cause whose chief reason for existing is to give birth to those who will create our future.

May this cause live for ever throughout the centuries!

## Defense Minister Dzhurov's Anniversary Order

*AU1209123988 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 88 p 1*

["Order of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on the 44th anniversary of the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria]

[Text] Comrade Officers, Generals, and Admirals, Comrade Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants, and Petty Officers,

Comrade Workers, Employees, Engineers and Employees of the Military Enterprises and Offices, Soldiers of the Reserve Forces,

The Bulgarian people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are greeting the 44th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in our country with pride and satisfaction with the successes that have been achieved in socialist construction during the years of the people's government. Now they are selflessly and insistently working to implement the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the subsequent BCP Central Committee plenums, on profoundly restructuring and renewing all areas of our life and constructing Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

The concept on further constructing socialism in our country and the decisions of the BCP National Conference and the BCP Central Committee July 1988 Plenum on restructuring the intellectual sphere of society created a new and businesslike atmosphere in our country. Self-management, socialist democracy, the initiative of the labor collectives, and labor efficiency are consolidating and expanding. The rate of economic growth is increasing more quickly.

The processes of restructuring in the life of the Bulgarian People's Army are also strengthening. The soldiers and commanders are working selflessly and in a more organized manner for increasing the troops' training and combat readiness to a new level. The achievements of the scientific-technical progress are been ever more broadly and successfully introduced in the military cause. Combat skills, and flying and naval training of the personnel are improving. The military constructors and labor collectives are greeting our national holiday with great labor successes.

The personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army supports the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the socialist community without any reservations. Simultaneously, the soldiers and commanders understand well their great responsibility in the contemporary military-political situation and the tasks which spring from the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states on defending peace and socialism. Together with the fraternal armies and led by the invincible Soviet Army the Bulgarian People's Army is always ready to decisively oppose any aggressor.

Comrade Soldiers and Commanders,
Comrade Military Workers and Employees,
Soldiers of the Reserve Forces,

I most cordially greet you on the 44th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution!

I wish you and your families health, happiness, and new successes in constructing and defending our socialist motherland!

In connection with the celebration of the 44th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria

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Gun salutes of 20 artillery salvos are to be fired and festive illuminations are to be conducted on 9 September in Sofia, the capital city of our motherland, in the oblast cities, and the city of Sliven.

Long live in the centuries the cause of the 9 September Revolution!
Long live the BCP—organizer and inspirer of all our victories!
Eternal gratitude and glory to the great USSR and its invincible liberating army!

Army General Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

## Austria's Vranitzky for Better Bulgarian Ties

*AU0909190888 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 9 Sep 88*

["Bulgaria, Austria: Will for Development of Economic Ties"—BTA headline]

[Text] Vienna, September 9 (BTA)—During his visit to the Bulgarian exposition at the Vienna Autumn Fair Mr. Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, said he would like that the economic relations between Bulgaria and Austria continue to develop further. He said that the two countries could concentrate not only on mutually advantageous trade but also on joint projects, which would be a considerable goal and could give considerable results. After seeing the exposition the Austrian chancellor had a brief meeting with representatives of the Bulgarian economic organizations taking part in the fair.

## Balev Meets APRA, CP Leaders in Peru

*AU0909192688 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 9 Sep 88*

["Joint Declaration of BCP and APRA Signed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Lima, September 9 (BTA)—The visit to Peru of Mr. Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, at the invitation of the governing party Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) and the Peruvian Government, is continuing.

In the central party house of APRA at a ceremonial meeting of the National Executive Committee with the participation of the national secretaries and the first secretaries of departments, Mr. Milko Balev and Mr. Luis Negeiros Criado, secretary general of APRA, signed a joint declaration. The declaration stresses the coincidence or similarity of the positions of the two parties on

a wide range of international problems and their desire to strengthen their contacts in interest of the all-around development of the relations between the two countries and peoples.

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Mr. Milko Balev had a meeting with the renowned political figure of the united left Mr. Alfonso Barantes and with Mr. Enrique Castro, fulfilling the duties of secretary general of the CC of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP).

**Leaders' Public Appearances 3-9 Sep Reported**

AU1009171688 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 3-9 September monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov "and other party and state leaders" attended a public meeting in Sofia on 8 September to mark the 44th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria, at which Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the traditional address. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1358 GMT 8 Sep 88) In Sofia on the morning of 9 September Zhivkov, together with other party and state leaders, attended a flag-raising ceremony in 9 September Square to mark the 9 September anniversary. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 9 Sep 88) In Sofia on the evening of the same day Zhivkov and other leaders attended an official 9 September anniversary reception. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Sep 88)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 5 September the letters of accreditation of Bashkim Rama, the new Albanian ambassador, (Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 5 Sep 88) Raul Medina Munoz, the newly appointed Argentine ambassador, (Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 5 Sep 88) and Dr Manfred Kippach, the new Austrian ambassador. (Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 5 Sep 88)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed from Sofia on 6 September with a party and state delegation for the DPRK, to take part in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the country's founding. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Sep 88)

Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended the opening of the Printed-Circuit Board Plant at the Microprocessor Equipment Combine in Pravets, Sofia Oblast, on 7 September. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 3 September a delegation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) led by Sar Kheng, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the KPRP Central Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 3 Sep 88)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, chaired a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Union held in Sofia on 5 September that discussed problems connected with the election of new management collectives for enterprises.(Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 88) On 7 September Dyulgerov departed from Sofia on an official visit to the PRC at the head of a delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 7 Sep 88)

Stoyan Markov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, also attended the opening of the Printed-Circuit Board Plant in Pravets on 7 September. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned to Sofia on 4 September from a visit to Nigeria. (Sofia BTA in English 1748 GMT 4 Sep 88) In Sofia on 7 September Stoichkov attended a national day reception at the Brazilian Embassy. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, departed from Sofia on 4 September on an official visit to Japan. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 88)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the address at a public meeting held in Sofia on 6 September to mark the 115th birth anniversary of Krustyu Rakovski. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 88)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 3 September a visiting Japanese Socialist Party delegation led by Yubun Ueno, member of the Japanese Diet. (Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 3 Sep 88) In Sofia on 7 September he received a CPSU delegation from the Komi ASSR led by Vladimir Melnikov, first secretary of the Komi ASSR Oblast CPSU Committee. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 88 p 6)

## Soviet Official on 'Rehabilitation' of Dubcek

*LD1109175988 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 0600 GMT 1 Sep 88*

[Text] There may be steps toward the political rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek. The inspiration behind the Prague Spring is at the center of an exchange between journalists and the Soviet ambassador to Italy, Nikolay Lunkov, at the L'UNITA festival in Florence. Ciccio Guida reports:

[Guida] The 20th anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and the suppression of the Prague Spring is now at hand. Only a few days ago, the deputy chief editor of the Czechoslovak newspaper RUDE PRAVO, in speaking with Gianc lo Pajetta [member of the Italian Communist Party], said that Dubcek is no longer a communist because he had been expelled from the party in 1969 and that that fact [word indistinct] should it be considered a problem, that this was then a problem for the Italian Communists. But the image of this man who the Czech party newspaper wants to throw out the window returns, metaphorically, in triumph through the front door by obtaining political and civic recognition from those who entered his country 20 years ago aboard their tanks. The interpreter for Soviet Ambassador to Italy Nikolay Lunkov translates one of the most significant passages of the news conference:

[Begin interpreter recording] It cannot be denied that, on the general level of perestroyka, Dubcek was the precursor. If Gorbachev's efforts are reviewed, in the period of (?estrangement) there were already some indications which anticipated perestroyka. As for certain situations in the past, we can find affinities. [end recording]

In replying to a question on the possible rehabilitation of Dubcek in Czechoslovakia, it seems that even though Lunkov used the cautious language of diplomats, he also wanted to advise the leaders of that country to think carefully.

[Begin interpreter recording] It is not up to me to predict what happens in other countries. I would like to say that we concern ourselves, and we should concern ourselves, with our own affairs. The process of perestroyka is proceeding in all the socialist countries. This is a fact. If, in Czechoslovakia, the process of openness is born, it is the leaders of that country who will declare it. Certainly, one cannot be superficial or resort to sensationalism. [end recording]

After discussing the Sakharov-Ligachev controversy, Lunkov then announced a possible visit to Italy by Gorbachev.

## Kempny Article Discusses Need for Restructuring

*AU0909130188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 88 p 3*

[Article by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council: "School of Responsible Management"]

[Text] **Life poses many questions, the solution of which is connected with restructuring. We need, and expect, changes for the better, but this improvement will not come either automatically or immediately. We must work strenuously toward putting things right—every one of us, every work collective, the whole of society. Our efforts must concentrate on solving the most pressing tasks in order of their importance.**

Restructuring requires that we fundamentally change many things in politics, the economy, the social and cultural spheres, ideology, education, in ethics, and attitudes to society—simply everywhere. Restructuring has become the necessary road of access to a new, more mature level of socialist construction. From that viewpoint we are, at the same time, looking back and rectifying past errors and mistakes. The earlier shortcomings are neither the sole nor the main reason for restructuring. It is, above all, the need for a higher production potential and advanced social conditions that drive our society forward.

We can be successful only if we correctly determine what is most important and essential, and when we resolve these issues concretely, without putting things off, and with demonstrable results. The present times urgently need prudent and resolute action. Nothing is more urgent than boosting and increasing the economic strength of our socialist country. After all, economic performance and efficiency are crucial for satisfying all social and personal needs.

And the party is guiding the acceleration of social development precisely in this direction, as was determined before the party and society by the 17th CPCZ Congress. This strategy, which we are implementing by fulfilling many concrete tasks, will ensure our society's marked progress and the assertion of the people's creative potential. It is the way to socialism's being able to prove the great possibilities of the most progressive social system.

The people of our country follow with interest and fully support the revolutionary changes that are under way in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Leninist party. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium highly values the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The conference conclusions are a rich source of inspiration for us in resolving the new, exacting tasks of socialist restructuring in our country. The Central Committee Presidium has therefore entrusted responsible personnel

with the task of applying the stimuli of the conference to our conditions, in harmony with the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

The CPSU is fulfilling its revolutionary role of pioneering new ways in developing socialism and making use of its advantages. The knowledge and experience of the Soviet Union contribute to the acceleration of restructuring in our country. We belong to one of the currents of the Leninist renewal of socialism. The alliance with and the experience and assistance of the Soviet Union are of immense value to us.

We can now see more clearly what we have in common in the process of socialist transformation, and what things are connected with our society's individual conditions. We take into consideration the differences in international status, in the economy and culture, the special features of the national and socialist setup, the general social experience and traditions of the people of our countries. **Learning from what the CPSU is now doing presupposes creative political work.**

The Nature of Social Transformation [subhead]

The 17th CPCZ Congress determined the strategy of the acceleration of socialist restructuring before the whole of society. In accordance with the results of the CPSU's theoretical-cognitive [teoretickopoznavaci] work and on the basis of an analysis of its own experience, we have arrived at the view that we must orient the further development of our society toward a far-reaching mobilization of the creative potential of socialism.

In this strategy we are counting on the development of modern production forces, the more rapid creation of national income, and the corresponding improvement in the standard of living. This is something that has become a necessity, as well as being a highly attractive intention, but, of course, at the same time it constitutes an exceptionally demanding task. It can only be realized in the event creative forces are fully developed and considerable resources amassed.

We have not yet succeeded in effectively embarking on this task. The impediment is—to express it concisely—the lateness of the "human factor." We must assimilate a higher standard of management, activity, entrepreneurship, and social enthusiasm.

From our own experience we have been able to convince ourselves that the qualitative requirements of the strategy of restructuring are not served by partial adjustments within the framework of the administrative model of management. We have also learned a lesson about the validity of the Leninist precept that **historically new tasks cannot be solved by using old approaches.** Fundamental restructuring is the instrument that corresponds to today's needs.

At the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session we enumerated the immediate tasks and the comprehensive nature of restructuring, the interlinkage among all important spheres—above all politics, the economy, social justice, culture, ideology, and ethics. At the eighth CPCZ Central Committee session we not only paid tribute to the historic anniversary of February [1948] but, above all, recalled and critically reassessed the 40 years of experience acquired from socialist construction and defined our current course of action. We devoted the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session to the contemporary party's mission as the vanguard of restructuring.

The Main Economic Task [subhead]

In the political program which our party determined before the whole of society, the **growth of the economic potential** has a particularly important place. Everything we want to achieve in the foreseeable future is, ultimately, connected with life's material conditions. We keep in mind the Leninist precept that each higher social level must be substantiated economically.

The economy has a triple task:

—**First**, the 17th party congress drew from the analysis of the development to date the conclusion that socialist construction must be accelerated. It has placed this on a realistic material foundation; it envisages accelerating the economic growth and achieving an increased national income.

The growth of national income is not a goal in itself, but it is the fundamental prerequisite for increasing accumulation for the modernization and reconstruction of production as well as for the growth of consumption, on which the improvement of a whole number of living conditions depends. Without the accelerated creation of national income there will not be any substantial acceleration in the socialist transformation of society.

—**Second**, we have embarked on radical economic restructuring. We have already adopted a number of political, legal, and economic measures. We will adopt additional ones in the course of this year or next year, to be able to prepare the next 5-year plan in the spirit of these measures. We are changing the state economic bodies, we already have new state enterprises, we are establishing a new kind of planned management and a new economic mechanism. In a short space of time we are switching over to a reformed economy.

This is the basic way for us to be able solve new tasks by new methods, to gain support for them among broad strata of the people, to strengthen the working people's affinity for socialist ownership, and to make more proficient use of the great potential of socialism. We are currently concentrating our main attention on the political, social, cultural, ideological, and ethical restructuring.

—**Third**, we cannot, even for a moment, leave out of consideration topical economic tasks, the fulfillment of this year's plan, and the quality processing of the plan for the coming year and until the end of the current 5-year plan. This will decide from what material base we will proceed to accelerating socialist construction, and what we will be able to afford in the next and the following 5-year plan.

Even though we are currently resolving a number of quite new problems which we have never encountered before, this does not at all mean that, perhaps, we can "write off" the 5-year plan. It would be an inexcusable mistake to lessen attention to fulfillment of the plan.

The Dynamism of the Creation of National Income [subhead]

The goal of the current 5-year plan is to increase the annual increment of the national income by **at least 3.5 percent**. It was not an easy decision to make. We relied on the experience from the closing part of the last 5-year plan, we analyzed our needs and possibilities, and we weighed the arguments of economic science as well as the views of experts on the national economy. However, there are a number of things we apparently did not properly take into account; we are lagging behind, and there is nothing for this but to return to this subject.

Some state and economic officials have been stepping up pressure to reduce the planned tasks. This is a short-sighted policy. Although this would make the work of a ministry or enterprise easier, it would not be good for society. Lower production means lower accumulation, lower wages, and lower supplies. Party bodies and organizations cannot agree to that.

Although we have not been doing nearly as well as we thought we would, the present 5-year plan will show a dynamic development of the national income. **Whereas in the last 5-year plan national income rose 9.8 percent, in the current 5-year plan we expect it to increase at least 14 percent. The figure for the increase itself will be about 40 percent higher**. What will actually be achieved will be shown by economic practice. Our possibilities are far from exhausted. Thus we are really implementing the concept of the acceleration of the creation of the national income, albeit not to such an extent as we would like, and also not in the way that is necessary. The larger creation of national income is mainly being achieved by increasing the volume of production. This, again, places greater demands on the volume of work, raw materials, energy, investments, and the like. We have not yet succeeded in breaking the vicious circle of extensive development. **Our pivotal problem remains the high consumption of production—that is, the disproportionate quantity of raw and other materials, of fuels and energy—which we use in production.**

This disproportionate consumption of production deprives us of resources we could otherwise use to modernize plants and raise the standard of living. A reduction in production consumption—in other words, the introduction of a regime of thrift—is precisely now the main way to increase national wealth.

Wasteful production consumption is an obstacle to transforming production from the extensive to the intensive path. We cannot rejoice when we have a situation in which we have produced more, but only because production consumed more. That is not of much use.

However, it seems that many of the personnel in the economy are subject to pressures exerted by the nightmare of habits formed by an extensive economy. They are producing uneconomically and expensively, and plans are being fulfilled inflexibly, regardless of labor-intensiveness and higher material consumption. Fulfillment of the plan is sometimes salvaged by production for the shelf, which benefits no one.

The first half of this year shows a number of more favorable factors and indicates opportunities for better progress. Plants are more successful in implementing the plan, and greater interest is being shown in scientific-technical and other innovations. The ideopsychical [ideove psychicky] factor is also apparently at work: People realize that restructuring will not stop and that the economic environment of the coming years will bring larger demands on creative economic activity.

We are making use of all-party discussions, such as the recent meeting with leading secretaries of regional and district committees, or the discussions devoted to the plan for the remaining part of this year and for 1989, to stress that matters connected with restructuring must be thought out to the end, that new paths must be tenaciously asserted and followed through.

We will underpin party work with well-considered political-organizational, political-educational, and cadre measures in order to accelerate the pace of real transformation in the present transitional period of restructuring. We will purposefully strengthen its constructive elements, and suppress routine habits which stand in its way.

Ingenuity, Pragmatism, Consistency [subhead]

People sometimes do not fully realize what a comprehensive approach to the work on restructuring we have chosen. This is obviously also because we still are not able to properly explain things and win over other people for initiative work. We must proceed with much more initiative and much more resolution if we are to be able to claim that we are fulfilling our role of vanguard.

We have adopted a plan of gradual tasks for restructuring. We have already issued a number of legal measures, so many that they cannot be compared to those of any

previous period. The foremost task now is to work fast but at the same time with thorough preparation, and to introduce new things consistently and with the necessary quality. It must be admitted that many adopted measures have thus far remained only in their initial stages, that things are in fact not changing as quickly and effectively as they ought to.

We recall Lenin's advice that in times when social habits are changing profoundly in their very essence, and when we must resolve different kinds of tasks, we will not help ourselves by looking backward and trying to solve matters with outdated methods. In times like these, one has to figure out things anew and act energetically, practically, and efficiently, and not waste time.

Once we have clarified to ourselves the fundamental line along which we will be developing the restructuring process, we must adhere to it, act with creative prudence and initiative, and push ahead. **Practical successful models, which show others what has to be achieved and how, are—as the saying goes—worth a fortune.**

As for political work, we must enhance its overall standard and ensure that its final results are outstanding. Half-baked actions kill people's faith in restructuring, give rise to unnecessary hesitancy, and deprive restructuring of mass support. We have no illusion that such a momentous and far-reaching political feat as restructuring will be accomplished easily, just like that, and without resistance.

We must return to and repair whatever we have failed in. Every article of the broadly conceived plan of restructuring must be checked and compared with what we have decided on, and if there are deviations, they must be rectified. **Restructuring itself must become a school of initiative and responsibility, a school of awareness and professionalism in management**—without petty regulations and rigid patterns, with common sense, scientific methods, and faith in the creative energy of the working people.

The most important thing of all is to train people, above all the leading cadres, who will play a decisive role in the success of restructuring. The Leninist precept that the most important thing is to select capable people and check to see how they are doing applies, in particular, to the present period of profound social transformation. Without capable people in leading posts no contemplations, intentions, plans, and so forth—no matter how good they are—will help. We would only waste a lot of energy and attain mediocre results.

However, we must train not only ranking personnel, but also entire work collectives. **The socialist economic self-management that is being introduced in our state enterprises increases the importance of each worker as a manager of his enterprise**. People in enterprises will profit from developing initiatives which are socially appreciated, but they must also bear the consequences of their mistakes and errors. They will increasingly codecide, co-organize, and comanage.

Intraenterprise Economic Accountability [subhead]

We would make more rapid progress in restructuring if people would realize more clearly what personal attitude to take toward restructuring, how to become its active cocreators.

The quintessential thing is for everyone to fulfill his work and economic tasks, and to be a good worker in his enterprise as well as a responsible manager. We have discussed this matter more than once, but the number of enterprises in which unity between production and economic tasks has become a matter of course is still increasing only slowly.

One has to bring the movement of material and monetary values into full harmony, constantly monitor how much of what is being consumed, what was manufactured from it, and what profit was made. What and how much—these are the fundamental issues of economic activity.

Economic independence for enterprises and their full economic accountability ultimately mean a certain sum of intraenterprise economically autonomous units and the economic accountability of these units. What is to be done in this respect? Above all, basic, partial work collectives should be set up. Their work should, if possible, be determined in such a way as to make it possible for them to deliver good-quality, specified products on time, as well as their parts, components, or technological operations. This would depend on the nature of each enterprise's production.

In the work collective tasks will be divided—not haphazardly, but on the basis of substantiated and regularly checked norms of work performance, consumption of material and energy, labor-intensiveness, and so on. For everything there must not only be technical norms, but also financial calculations. Everyone should know how much a particular thing costs, how much he earns for the enterprise, and how much he himself earns. All that, of course, must be constantly monitored and assessed, and the results (be it profit or loss) must be distributed accordingly.

These demands were a matter of course until the beginning of the first economic reform in the mid-sixties. Afterward the interest became divorced from production and concentrated on all-enterprise economic manipulations. More attention was paid to the enterprise's income, prices, finances, and credits—in short, to general results, and not to their sources in direct production.

We used to have well-developed **enterprise bookkeeping**. It included regular calculations of products, limits to overhead consumption, planning of the costs and profits

of enterprise units, cost accounting, budgeting, and so forth. We are sorry to say that this has been abandoned. It is one of the bad vestiges of the ill-conceived efforts of the 1960's.

It is necessary not only to **restore the old art of management in every workshop and at every worksite, but also to enrich it with what economic science has learned in the meantime**. We must make use of cognitive [poznavaci] instruments such as value analysis, a systemic approach to management, the use of data processing, as well as of the latest findings in the sphere of the organization of labor, particularly the collective forms of work and remuneration.

However, we must not forget that enterprises do not produce only economic but also social and cultural values. The importance of enterprises' social and cultural activities will continue to increase. Intraenterprise planning and management is a wide field, one in which social justice is exercised, the relationship between work and remuneration resolved, and differences in the work and remuneration of employees substantiated. Everyone must be measured according to his contribution to the common development.

The Central Committee has been receiving numerous letters in which working people complain that their work is ignored, that soulless formalism continues, and that indicators devoid of realistic economic content are implemented. Our entire practice reveals how important it is to take note of the people's economic needs and interests, and know how to make use of them for the good of society. The introduction of economic accountability in enterprises helps to expose their strengths and weaknesses, reinforces concentration on the crucial tasks, and forces innovation and the improvement of the overall results.

Collectives and individuals are competing to improve work and management. The new competition should acquire the nature of comparing work and management results at the same time. What is decisive is the contribution of collectives and individuals to the improvement of the administered part of social property, to the positive economic condition of enterprise.

Those at the top have it tough. It is they who are paving the way for the further joint advance. They have to grapple with deep-rooted habits, proceed from well-trodden paths, and bear the risks connected with innovation. We must appreciate such pioneers and support them. It depends on them how successful our advance will be. We must especially appreciate those who are able to point the way to achieving results that would compare with the world's best. He who achieves a priority status in production must also be given preference in consumption.

Better Products, But Also Manufactured More Cheaply [subhead]

Some ranking personnel see restructuring romantically, not as a more exacting, higher type of management, but rather as easier economic work. They expect from it what it cannot provide: higher wages, profits, investments, imports, and so forth, and immediately. In some places they are obviously preparing to raise prices and make bigger profits the easy way.

Such phenomena of **enterprise egoism** are not unexpected, and during the reform in the sixties and, especially, during the florescence of "entrepreneurship illusions" around 1968, they brought the national economy to the verge of inflation, caused a deterioration in the incomes of working people, and a slump in accumulation.

Managing well means behaving responsibly, saving and not wasting, inventively enhancing the utility value and quality of products, and coming forward with necessary innovations.

What has been saved in production costs can be used to further develop the national economy, the modernization of production, and to raise the people's material and cultural standard.

We must reject efforts aimed at solving one's problems through higher prices. This is harmful and reduces our interest in accelerating social and economic development. At the same time it makes us lag behind the fundamental trend of the contemporary developed industry: **delivering ever better products at ever cheaper prices**.

In that respect we will orient the further development of price-setting in such a way as to bring us nearer to the world standard, and make every effort to accelerate the task of drawing even with the capitalist countries. Enterprises that are ahead, that are close to the world standard, will have to be given preferential treatment over mediocre enterprises. Lagging behind must have a tangible impact.

We must not forget the linkage between the strategy of acceleration of social and economic development and restructuring. **Restructuring will fulfill its historical mission only when it results in higher economic performance, when it treats the best people preferentially and affects those who are lagging behind.**

Linkage Between Workers and Enterprise Intelligentsia [subhead]

It is not for nothing that it is stressed that the socialist norms of work develop from the sources of people's genuine participation, from people's initiative. The unity of democratism and responsible management is typical of the entire economic restructuring.

Sometimes the working people themselves find the organizational forms and methods of work that best correspond to their qualifications and the specific conditions

in their workplace. It is necessary to learn from this and respect the creative organizational initiative of work collectives, and learn from science as well as from the common sense of those who have practical experience.

A remarkable form of collaboration of workers with technicians and other experts **in comprehensive rationalization brigades** was developed in our industry years ago. This form has acquitted itself well in resolving many different production-economic problems and has a permanent place in our organizational practice. It can play a particularly important role in the tasks of restructuring.

That form has not only acquitted itself well and deserves to be further extended, but it has also shown the opportunities that arise from practical collaboration between workers or farmers and the intelligentsia. It is an energetic alliance capable of overcoming all obstacles and achieving the highest social and economic standards of production.

Decision Falls in an Enterprise [subhead]

Economic restructuring is becoming the subject of public interest. People are interested in it and expect things from it. A responsible approach from the positions of political and economic realism prevail. People are not letting themselves be enticed by words; they want to look more closely into the matter and take part. They prudently learn how things are done in other countries. We have paid dearly for the experience of past years. But all that, our successes as well as our failures, has become a part of people's wisdom when they are currently confronted with the appeal for a new, fundamental enrichment of socialism.

We recall the trinity of the economic and social tasks of the present: **Acceleration, restructuring, and the plan**. No single element may be weakened. We must keep all three of them in mind. The present situation requires special attention to the assimilation of the new economic conditions in enterprises, particularly intraenterprise economic management. Here restructuring comes into direct and everyday contact with all personnel. This is the new school of management.

The slogan of the day is: **to work better, more responsibly, with greater initiative**. People will follow deeds and practical, convincing results. In realizing restructuring we are not interested in any arbitrary experiments. We keep in mind the needs of the people and their secure and interesting creative life. The more people we win over to direct participation, the more we will succeed in the feat of restructuring.

**Slovak Government Urges Environmental Protection**

AU0909150188 [Editorial Report] BRATISLAVA PRAVDA in Slovak on 8 September on page 2 carries a 1,300-word "Appeal of the Government of the Slovak SR and of the National Front Central Committee of the Slovak SR to the Working People, Citizens, and Youth To Enhance the Care of the Environment in the Slovak SR." The appeal was approved at the 7 September session of the Slovak Government.

The appeal opens by saying that the objective of the "concept for the enhancement and protection of the environment of the Slovak SR," which is to "renew the ecological stability of the landscape and of ecological systems" in Slovakia by the year 2000, cannot be achieved without the support of economic organizations, national committees, social organizations, and the working people, citizens, and youth. It notes that one's attitude toward the environment is now "one of the touchstones of socialist patriotism" and calls on individual agencies and organizations and groups of the population to work to improve the environment. The appeal then lists the things which individual public groups (from scientists and engineers, to functionaries, artists, and media persons, down to workers and farmers) can and should do to contribute to preventing or limiting pollution and improving the state of the environment.

## Further Reportage on Visit of Hungary's Grosz

### Honecker Toasts Grosz

*AU1209150088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 88 pp 3, 4*

[Toast proposed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at dinner given in honor of Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Berlin on 8 September: "Traditional Alliance Proves Itself Today"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Karoly Grosz, dear Hungarian comrades and friends:

Please allow me to once more welcome you most cordially to the GDR. We are pleased that you have come to our country for a candid exchange of views, which is taking place in the friendly and trusting atmosphere that has characterized relations between our two parties, states, and peoples for decades.

Dear Comrade Karoly Grosz, your visit is taking place at a time when positive tendencies are being consolidated step-by-step in international relations thanks to the socialist countries' efforts, broad world public opinion, and rational and realistic-minded forces in the West. This is seen in the growth of contacts and the business-like dialogue between East and West.

The GDR Emphatically Supports a Process of Radical Disarmament [subhead]

The entering into force of the USSR-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, by which, for the first time, a complete category of modern weapons is being dismantled under unprecedented control, opens up the real chance to liberate mankind from the nightmare of a nuclear catastrophe. There must be no pause in this process of real disarmament. For this reason, the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee this July pointed to further steps toward the radical reduction of military potentials. The GDR emphatically supports these initiatives.

This includes the 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons with strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the reduction in the number of and finally the halting of nuclear tests, the complete banning and the destruction of chemical weapons, and reductions in armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. We also support the incorporation of tactical nuclear weapons in the disarmament process.

As a state located in the heart of Europe and one positioned on the dividing line between the two most powerful military blocs in the world, the GDR will continue to contribute actively to implementing the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states for conventional disarmament. The GDR views this Warsaw Pact initiative as a constructive step toward the preparation of future negotiations which are still due to begin in 1988; and the GDR expects a positive response from NATO.

The GDR, with its policy of dialogue and cooperation, will work to improve international relations with the objective of making these changes for the better irreversible. In this regard, I would like to refer to the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in Berlin this June. The meeting developed, with the broadest representation, into a comprehensive, equal, and open exchange of views on questions of peace. All other differences are secondary to efforts to constructively solve the most important world political task and to find ways to secure peace and avert a nuclear inferno.

Nuclear-Free Corridor Increases Confidence in "European Home" [subhead]

The success of the Berlin meeting was valuably served by the presence of the Hungarian delegation, for which I would once more very much like to thank you. The Hungarian People's Republic has repeatedly declared that it would make its territory available for such a zone. Together with the zones suggested for northern Europe and the Balkans, a continuous nuclear-free area would in this way arise in Europe in a north-south direction. Its importance for disarmament and for the process of detente should not be underestimated.

To strengthen mutual trust in a joint "European home" and to raise security on the continent, the GDR will continue to persistently pursue the project of a nuclear-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. On the solid foundation of the Helsinki Final Act, we support mutual understanding and constructive cooperation in the most varied spheres.

We state with satisfaction and pleasure that the GDR's and Hungary's actions in foreign policy are in fundamental agreement, and that our practical steps serve the joint cause of peace and socialism. We are also united in more effectively shaping cooperation between the fraternal countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. The GDR actively contributes to implementing the decisions that were adopted to achieve this at the most recent meetings. We are interested in continuing proven forms of political and economic cooperation and, at the same time, searching for effective new paths. In this respect, we assign particular importance to the coordination of the national economic plans for the 1991-95 period.

Relations Have Deepened Steadily [subhead]

Dear Hungarian comrades and friends:

Today's meeting provides a welcome opportunity to pay tribute to the traditions of close militant community

between German and Hungarian Communists which have existed for decades. This occasion is all the more welcome because in a few months' time we will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the MSZMP and of the KPD. We can say with pride that the legacy of the glorious fighters of the German and Hungarian workers movement, such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, such as Bel Kun and thousands of comrades, who, side by side, risked their lives in the night of facism for the triumph of social progress, has been fulfilled in our two fraternal socialist countries. The alliance between the two parties, states, and peoples that has been built and has matured on the foundation of these traditions also proves its worth under present-day conditions. It is a guarantee for further joint progress.

We can say with complete justification that relations between the GDR and Hungary are at a high level, are free of problems, and have deepened constantly. The treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance is being implemented in all areas. In accordance with the "Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Through the Year 2000," economic relations have developed steadily. The Hungarian People's Republic is one of our most important economic partners. Microelectronics, biotechnology, and new materials are extremely topical focal points of scientific-technological cooperation, and are in line with the economic needs of both countries. The numerous direct contacts between enterprises and institutions, which provide additional impulses for our cooperation, have proven to be very useful.

New questions and new problems naturally arise with the extent of our economic cooperation and increased demands on our national economies. As before, we will find solutions in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding, taking account of the interests of both countries.

The extent of relations in science, education, and culture is also an eloquent expression of the high state of cooperation. This has again been demonstrated by the successful days of Hungarian culture in April this year in the GDR. Both sides have agreed to make the days of GDR culture planned to be held in Hungary in 1989 an equal highlight.

As a result of the growing diversity and scale of our relations, and the sincere interest of our peoples in each other, the personal contacts between citizens of both states have also increased. People make use of opportunities to get to know better the culture, traditions, and concrete living conditions of the people in the fraternal country. We welcome all that.

Creative Search for the Best Solutions [subhead]

Dear Comrade Karoly Grosz, dear Hungarian comrades:

The working people of the GDR are following with great interest the efforts of the fraternal Hungarian people to implement the decisions of the national conference of the MSZMP and to accelerate socialist construction in Hungary through important social changes, to strengthen the performance of the national economy, and to strengthen socialist democracy. Dear Hungarian comrades, in this and in the preparation of the 14th MSZMP Congress, I wholeheartedly wish you success.

As you know, we believe that shaping the developed socialist society is a process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes, which includes the creative search for the best ways to solve new tasks and problems. In this spirit, we are turning the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, the course of the unity of economic and social policy, into deeds; we are developing socialist democracy. In this we will repeatedly have to make such decisions and changes that meet the new requirements.

Dear comrades and friends:

The purposeful actions by the workers, led by the SED and MSZMP, and the further expansion of comprehensive cooperation are of great importance for the future, for strengthening the position of socialism in the world, and for making peace more secure, which is vital for mankind.

Wishing you a pleasant stay in the GDR, esteemed guests, I ask you to raise your glasses and drink with me to:
—the further strengthening of the fraternal bonds between the SED and the MSZMP,
—fruitful cooperation between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic,
—to your health, Comrade Karoly Grosz,
—to the health of all Hungarian comrades and friends who are present.

## Grosz Offers Return Toast

*AU1309091788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 88 pp 3, 4*

[Toast proposed by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, at dinner given in his honor by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in Berlin on 8 September: "We Are Linked by Common Ideas, Goals, and Interests"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Honecker, dear comrades:

I convey my sincere thanks to you, Comrade Erich Honecker, for your warm and friendly words. I convey thanks to the SED Central Committee and to you personally, Comrade Honecker, for the invitation which I appreciate very much and which I have accepted with

great pleasure. I convey to you greetings and best wishes from the MSZMP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Dear Comrades:

Today's talk with Erich Honecker, which proceeded in a sincere and good atmosphere, enriches the valuable traditions of the meetings between the general secretaries. The regular political dialogue faithfully reflects the balanced development of relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the GDR. The further strengthening of our cooperation is in harmony with our foreign policy goals and our ideas about the future.

Finding Answers to the Challenges of Our Time [subhead]

The fact that we are linked by our ideas, main goals, and fundamental interests is a determining factor in the relationship between our country and the GDR. There are of course many different features in the relations between our countries and in their socioeconomic practices. We are convinced that awareness of the multifarious national solutions and the attitude of respect in our relations are also factors that strengthen trust and understanding. For us, the political significance of the current visit lies also in the fact that we can get to know better the rich experiences of the SED and the ideas and plans of our friends in the GDR.

The Hungarian public observes with respect the development of the GDR following the eighth party congress, the GDR's achievements in the sphere of scientific-technological progress, which are outstanding by international standards, and its results in improving the people's living conditions and social protection. Our country is also honestly interested in the GDR's finding modern answers to the challenges of our time under its specific national conditions and its proceeding successfully in developing the socialist society, while also building on the diligence of the GDR's people and the values of German culture and science.

We can further the advancement of our two countries through our own high-level work and particularly through the efficient development of our economic cooperation. We deem it important to make progress in safeguarding our achievements in the fields of specialization and cooperation, and to expand our cooperation in microelectronics and other sectors which are vital to the future. We are prepared to promote direct relations between economic units for the manufacture of modern products that can compete on the world market.

The many and varied institutional forms of our relations are suitable for better utilizing the intellectual potential of the two countries in politics, culture, science, and education. We are fulfilling a great task if we extend direct meetings between citizens, promote tourism and knowledge of each other's history and present situation, and enrich cooperation between twin bezirke with new contents. Our people are also linked by the ethnic Germans living in Hungary. It is our humanist duty to promote the preservation of their national identity and the development of their culture in the spirit of the Leninist policy on nationalities. We are in favor of the Hungarian Germans continuing to find prosperity in their home country. We greatly appreciate the GDR's understanding and its internationalist stance on this issue, which is equally important for European civilization and our peoples. We greatly appreciate the GDR's help in this.

Esteemed Comrades:

It is well known to you that in recent years the development of socialism slowed down and that problems grew in Hungary. After broad-based discussions, our party concluded that for us there is only one acceptable way out of our problems: the far-reaching renewal of socialism, the modernization of our thoughts and actions.

In this, the awareness that we can rely on our socialist achievements, on the experiences and the wisdom of preceding generations, is a help to us. At the same time, we gain renewed strength from the development of democracy, from the development of creative capacities of thinking people and groups, who act responsibly to achieve socialist goals. Apart from disciplined work, all this constitutes an important resource in the development of a more open and more efficient economy. It is the MSZMP's firm intention to become the party of all the people and to continue consistently along the path of renewing Hungarian society.

Great Respect for the GDR's Foreign Policy Initiatives [subhead]

Dear Comrades:

Today's talks have again shown that our country and the GDR assess the main foreign policy issues in the same way. We pay great respect to the GDR's active foreign policy initiatives and disarmament proposals which have increased your country's standing in the world.

The processes taking place in the socialist world have become a factor of international significance. As a result of the new thinking, of the flexible and active initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, international tension has eased and favorable trends have strengthened.

We welcome the restoration of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, the mutual realization that, with an awareness and responsibility for the fate of mankind, nuclear war and armed conflicts must not be allowed to happen. We regard the agreement on removing intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as a historic act. We believe that the preservation of the military-strategic balance is a shared concern. Mutual security can, however, also be guaranteed with a considerably lower level of arms.

We support the Soviet Union's proposal for a reduction in conventional arms and forces in Europe and for the holding of an all-European meeting on this topic. Our country is interested in being one of those countries that are affected by the first reductions.

Raising Cooperation With Fraternal Countries to a Higher Level [subhead]

We attach particular significance to raising to a new level relations with socialist countries. We support the development of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact, the regular and constructive consultations on the decisive issues, and are in favor of strengthening the partnership relations.

We also regard CEMA in the long term as an important factor for the economic development of socialist countries. However, we believe that in the urgently needed modernization of cooperation, the situation concerning goods and finance and modern economic methods must be given a decisive role.

Our economic and political interests equally demand that we continuously develop our relations with the developed capitalist industrial countries on the basis of mutual advantage. It is vital for our survival that the world economy develop with us, rather than without us. We are striving for regulated relationships with the EC, and for cooperation on a contractual basis. It is a favorable precondition that relations between the CEMA and the EC have been raised to a new official level with the signing of the joint declaration.

The easing of international tensions has created favorable conditions for achieving progress in solving the European problems, and for developing a broad political dialogue and a future-oriented and balanced relationship between East and West. We believe that, provided there is corresponding political will, conditions have been created for a successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

Dear Comrade Honecker:

On behalf of the MSZMP and on my own behalf, I would like to express the hope that we may soon welcome you in our country on an official friendship visit .

I raise my glass and drink to the further successes of the SED and GDR in building socialism and in preserving peace; to your health, Comrade Erich Honecker; and to the health of all our friends from the GDR who are present.

## Communique Issued

*AU1309115788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Sep 88 pp 1, 2*

[Communique issued on the occasion of the 8-9 September visit to the GDR by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic: "Agreement on All Basic Issues"]

[Text] At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid an official friendship visit to the GDR on 8 and 9 September.

Karoly Grosz laid a wreath at the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism. He paid a visit to the mayor of the capital of the GDR and signed the capital's Golden Book.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz conducted a detailed exchange of views on current questions of social developments in the two socialist countries, assessed the state of relations between the GDR and Hungary and discussed possibilities for strengthening them further, and viewed topical issues concerning the international situation.

Erich Honecker briefed Grosz on the tasks made clear by the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee and consultations with the first secretaries of the SED kreis executives for the further successful realization of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. He referred in particular to continuing the course of the unity of economic and social policy and the broad unfolding of socialist democracy.

Karoly Grosz explained the decisions of the MSZMP regional conference and the resulting objectives for the party and Hungarian working people in the further building of socialism. He paid special attention to the close link between economic reform and the development of socialist democracy in Hungary. He also expressed the resolute striving of the MSZMP to strengthen democracy and social openness, and explained current issues in implementing the leading role of the party.

The general secretaries emphasized the value of the comprehensive and comradely exchange of views between the fraternal parties, in both the bilateral and multilateral frameworks, to make even better mutual use of the experience gained in building socialism. They expressed the conviction that the processes of renewal unfolding in line with national characteristics in the socialist countries will contribute to the success of those efforts. Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz noted with satisfaction that relations between the two states and peoples are at a high level. This close and productive cooperation between the SED and MSZMP, born of mutual trust, provides a certain guarantee for their further all-around development.

Both officials estimate that economic relations have developed continuously as a result of the long-term program signed in 1988 on the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation until the year 2000, and that these relations effectively support the solution of the national economic tasks in the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic. They drew attention to a further strengthening of cooperation in structurally decisive sectors such as microelectronics, computers and robot technology, and biotechnology.

They especially emphasized the need to reliably fulfill the agreements reached, fully exploit the existing potentials, and apply modern forms of cooperation to the broadest degree possible. A growing significance is assigned to the rational deepening and widening of specialization and cooperation and to improving direct relations among enterprises, establishments, and collectives. The partners in the talks agreed on emphasizing the important role of coordinating the national economic plans for the period 1991-95.

Both sides pointed out that CEMA is an important factor in the long term for the economic development of the socialist countries. They praised the decisions of the 44th CEMA meeting, for these decisions show that practical realization is of great significance for fulfilling the qualitatively new demands on cooperation between our countries.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz praised the high level, breadth, and variety of cooperation in the areas of culture, education, and science. They then spoke in support of stronger propagandizing the socialist achievements and cultural values of the other country, thus promoting the process of better mutual acquaintance between the two peoples. Even greater importance was assigned to expanding direct relations between cultural, scientific, and educational establishments, as well as to personal contacts and joint work in the cultural and spiritual sphere. The events organized in both countries within the framework of the days of culture also serve this aim.

Karoly Grosz expressed his recognition of and thanks for the constant assistance the GDR provides for the continuous care of the culture of the national German minority living in Hungary.

Turning to the international situation, both politicians noted with satisfaction that, thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries, the people, and the world public as well as realistic attitudes on the part of Western states, positive trends in international relations are being given stronger expression. The GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to make every effort to make the recently initiated change for the better irreversible, together with all the forces ready to engage in a substantial dialogue.

Both sides are determined to expand and deepen their cooperation both bilaterally and in the framework of the Warsaw Pact in the interests of peace, disarmament, and international security.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz emphasized the historic importance of the coming into force of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on liquidating medium- and shorter-range missiles, and spoke in favor of a consistent continuation of the disarmament process in the nuclear and conventional spheres. In the opinion of the two sides, of particular urgency is a start in negotiations on reducing conventional forces and arms in Europe. They expressed their hope that the NATO states will react positively to this.

Once again the two sides directed their attention to the possibility that, in the event of the implementation of the well-known proposals on nuclear-free zones in northern Europe and in the Balkans, as well as on a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, including in the Hungarian People's Republic, a continuous nuclear-free territory running in a north-south direction would be created on our continent.

They expressed their conviction that the cause of disarmament and peace is served by the initiatives for creating chemical weapons-free zones and zones of trust, security, and cooperation in Europe. These are strongly supported by the socialist countries. The joint initiative of the MSZMP, the Socialist Democratic Party of Finland, and the Italian Socialist Party on active cooperation between nonnuclear states points in the same direction.

The GDR and Hungary emphasized their interest in the balanced continuation and deepening of the CSCE process in all its elements, including humanitarian issues, which would constitute a significant contribution to strengthening the favorable processes that are beginning to take place in Europe and to stabilizing all-European cooperation. Both sides called for the Vienna follow-up meeting to be concluded with the adoption of a substantial final document.

The GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic believe it is urgently necessary to create a comprehensive system of ecological security and are prepared to actively collaborate in working out the norms and principles which are binding under international law required by such a system.

The talks between the two general secretaries, which were conducted in a traditionally cordial and friendly atmosphere and in trusting openness, resulted in fundamental agreement on all the subjects raised. These talks contributed to the further deepening of all-around cooperation between the SED and the MSZMP, and the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic invited the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council to visit the Hungarian People's Republic. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

### Beil Speaks at Trade Fair's USSR Pavilion

*LD0509043188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1453 GMT 5 Sep 88*

[Text] Leipzig, 4 Sep (ADN)—The text of the address by Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, at the Soviet pavilion is as follows:

The visit by the GDR party and state leadership to the Soviet pavilion is one of the good traditions produced by our close community, friendship, and this fair. This time, too, dear Soviet friends and comrades, we have looked with great interest at the collective exhibition from your country, which is a special attraction of the 1988 Leipzig Autumn Fair and which gives our cooperation much valuable impetus. We congratulate you on the impressive results we have seen here of your progress toward realizing the 27th CPSU Congress resolutions.

The performance of your economy, made visible by numerous exhibits of the highest scientific-technological standard, the participation of many new exhibitors from the Soviet Union, and the attractive special exhibition from the Moldavian SSR, allied to the clearly demonstrated capacity of the GDR economy, offer a guarantee that in the coming days of the fair much can be done to develop our proven cooperation.

We thus welcome the fact, dear Comrade Gusev, that such a high-ranking Soviet Government delegation also is taking part.

As can be seen at this fair, thanks to the energy and creativity of the workers of the GDR, stable and dynamic growth was also achieved in our economy in the recent months of 1988. Productive capacity and efficiency have been increased. In accordance with the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, the new quality of economic growth is spreading, marked by the widespread efficient use of key technologies. The intensification of production is becoming more comprehensive. Science and production are being linked more and more closely.

Economic cooperation between our countries also is guided by the same criteria. As you, Comrade Erich Honecker, said: "The fundamental agreement between the economic strategies of our countries, their being geared toward the intensification of production, and the harnessing of the scientific-technological revolution for the benefit of the people," have an "extraordinarily stimulating" effect.

United in this way, we work purposefully together to give practical meaning to the pioneering agreements made between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the development of a qualitatively new level of economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

For the GDR, this—as I may stress here—has a central place in the further implementation of its economic strategy, the unity of economic and social policy.

Thus we wish to use that advantage of cooperation characteristic of socialism which lies in the planned character and long-term stability of our mutual economic relations.

We have an accordingly high opinion of the long-term program agreed upon between our countries on the development of cooperation in the spheres of science, technology, and production up to the year 2000, of the subprogram based on it, and of the 170 government and ministerial agreements reached so far in which—characterizing our cooperation more and more—joint tasks are laid down for the development of key technologies.

The same aim of increasing labor productivity, modernizing production, conserving resources, and producing more world-class goods is being served by the contribution that increasingly is being made by direct links between GDR combines and factories and their Soviet partners. Such greater efficiency in cooperation gives stability and dynamism to the exchange of goods, which is the concern of both sides.

GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines are prepared, on the basis of the long-term trade program for 1986-90, to conclude at this fair as many contracts as possible with their Soviet partners for exports and imports in 1989-90.

Over and above that, there will certainly be—while exploring proven ground and at the same time meeting new demands—many valuable stimuli that will benefit the current preparatory work for coordinating economic plans for the period 1991-95.

With the same aims, we also take further measures for deepening cooperation with the other fraternal countries and thus for implementing the CEMA resolutions.

This fall, the Leipzig fair is once again being held under the proven slogan "For worldwide, open trade and technological progress."

Such worldwide, open trade is possible only under peaceful conditions. In order to secure this on a lasting basis, our joint concern continues to be averting the danger of war which threatens the world and a general improvement in the international climate.

We welcome the remarkably high participation in this year's Leipzig fair by states and companies from all over the world. This serves the development of equal, mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technological cooperation, as well as the creation of an atmosphere of trust and good-neighborliness. This also helps produce greater stability and dynamism in international relations. Together we will do all we can to ensure that this trend takes hold beyond the trade sector for the good of the peoples.

**Budapest, South Korea To Establish Missions**
*LD1309024688 Budapest MTI in English 0203 GMT 13 Sep 88*

[Text] Budapest, September 13 (MTI)—MTI reports on the grounds of information of a competent source the following:

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of the Republic of Korea, recognizing their relations with a view to establishing and setting on a firm basis their economical, commercial, financial, cultural, sports, technical-scientific, as well as consular and other relations, have agreed to establish permanent missions of the two countries in Budapest and Seoul.

The opening of the permanent missions will take place in due course.

The government of both countries are convinced that the establishment of permanent missions will contribute to the promotion of relations in various fields between the two countries.

Both governments further agreed that negotiations would start at an early date for normalization of bilateral relations by the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Both governments expressed the determination to bring negotiations to a success as soon as possible.

**Israel's Shamir To Make 'Private' Visit**
*LD1309093088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 13 Sep 88*

[Excerpt] Israeli head of government Shamir will make a private visit to Budapest in the coming days. This was announced by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. [passage omitted]

**Grosz Visit to GDR Stresses Agreement**
*LD0909222688 Budapest MTI in English 2058 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] Berlin, September 9 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid an official friendship visit to the German Democratic Republic on September 8-9, 1988 at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

Karoly Grosz laid a wreath on the monument of the victims of fascism and militarism. Visiting the burgermaster of Berlin, he made a note in the "Golden Book" of the capital.

Karoly Grosz and Erich Honecker exchanged views in detail on the topical issues of social development in the two socialist countries, surveyed relations between Hungary and the GDR, discussed the ways of further deepening them, and held talks on some international affairs.

Erich Honecker gave briefs on the tasks set at the 6th plenary session of the Central Committee and at the consultation with the first secretaries of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] district committees, and on their fulfillment that served the successful implementation of the resolutions adopted in the 11th congress of the party. He discussed the continuation of the united economic and social policy line, and the wide-scale development of socialist democracy.

Karoly Grosz outlined the resolution of the HSWP national conference, and the tasks of the party and the Hungarian society in socialist construction work. He emphasized that economic reform and the further development of socialist democracy formed an integral unity in the practice of Hungary. He stated that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is resolutely endeavouring for strengthening democracy and social openness, and asserting the directing role of the party in an advanced way.

The general secretaries emphasized the usefulness of many-sided bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views between the fraternal parties from the aspect of mutual and more successful application of experience accumulated in the course of socialist construction work. They expressed the conviction that the processes of renewal gaining ground in the socialist world in keeping with the national endowments contributed to the success of this endeavour.

Karoly Grosz and Erich Honecker stated with satisfaction that the relations between the two states and the two peoples were high level. The many-sided further development of these relations is guaranteed by close and successful cooperation between the HSWP and the SUPG, based upon mutual confidence.

Both general secretaries evaluated that, owing to the long-term programme on the development until the year 2000 of economic, technical and scientific cooperation signed in 1985, economic relations were characterized by continuity that provided efficient support for the two countries in solving their national economic tasks. They emphasized the importance of developing cooperation in the industries determining the economic structure, such as microelectronics, computer engineering, robotics and biotechnology.

The sides emphasized the necessity of the exact fulfilment of the accepted agreements, better utilization of possibilities, and the wide-scale application of advanced forms of cooperation. In this field the reasonable extension and deepening of specialization and cooperation, and the development of direct links between enterprises, institutions and collectives are gaining importance.

Both sides pointed out that cooperation within the CEMA continued to be an important factor of the economic development of the socialist countries. They appreciated the resolutions passed by the 44th session of the organization, whose implementation may open a new phase in cooperation between our countries. The sides emphasized the importance of coordination the national economic plans for the period 1991-1995.

Karoly Grosz and Erich Honecker praised the high level of the wide ranging cultural, educational and scientific cooperation. They expressed the intention that more efficient information of the two countries' socialist attainments and cultural values promote better understanding between their people. In this process the direct cooperation of the cultural, scientific and educational institutions and the widening of the personal and working contacts of the creative intelligentsia are efficiently served by the cultural days held in both countries. Karoly Grosz expressed recognition and gratitude for the help which is provided by the German Democratic Republic in the continuous care of the German nationality living in Hungary.

Speaking on the international situation both general secretaries concluded with satisfaction that as a result of the efforts of the socialist countries, the people and international opinion, and the realistic approach of the Western countries, favourable tendencies strengthen. The Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic will continue to do their best in the future, with the help of the forces ready for essential dialogue, for the positive turn to be irreversible.

Both sides are determined for the widening and deepening of both bilateral and Warsaw Treaty cooperation for the sake of peace, disarmament and international security.

Karoly Grosz and Erich Honecker pointed out the historical importance of the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles. They took the stand for making the disarmament process in both nuclear and conventional fields. Both sides find urgent the start of the negotiations on the reduction of conventional troops and armaments and expects that the NATO member states respond positively to the initiative. They repeatedly call attention to the possibility that if the proposals on the establishment of the northern-European and Balkans nuclear arms free zone and the middle European nuclear arms free corridor—with the participation of the Hungarian People's Republic—on our continent are implemented, an unbroken nuclear arms free zone could be established. They expressed the conviction that the creation of the chemical weapon free, confidence, security and cooperation zones—promoted by the socialist countries—serves the cause of disarmament and peace in Europe. The joint proposal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party calling for the active cooperation of countries without nuclear weapons helps the accomplishment of these reforms.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic emphasized their interest in the balance continuation and deepening of the European security and cooperation process—including the humanitarian issues—which is a significant contribution to the strengthening of the favourable processes emerging on the continent and to the consolidation of the all-European cooperation. They take the stand for ending the Vienna follow-up talks with a meaningful closing document.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic find urgently needed the creation of a comprehensive ecological security system and are ready to actively cooperate in the elaboration of the basic international legal standards and principles.

The discussions which were characterised by the traditional cordial, friendly and open atmosphere, endorsed on each issue an identity of views. The negotiations contributed to the multisided deepening of cooperation between the HSWP and the SUPG, the Hungarian People's Republic.

The HSWP general secretary and president of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic invited for a visit to Hungary the general secretary of the SUPG CC [Central Committee] and president of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic. The invitation was accepted with acknowledgement by Erich Honecker.

## Rallies Protest Bos-Nagymaros Water Project

### 10,000 March to Assembly

*LD1209195688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Excerpts] Several thousand people have gathered at the university to protest the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage. Henrik Havas reports from Vorosmarty Square:

[Havas] [Passage omitted] At an international news conference this afternoon Hungarian and foreign journalists put several questions to the [protest rally] organizers. They asked first about the content of the two petitions, and whether journalists could see their texts? The reply was that they were not yet ready because they are still being translated into English, German, and French.

I asked what would happen if the Bos-Nagymaros investment project becomes irreversible, and what the Greens would then do. And in any case, how long will it be before it is no longer worthwhile to protest the construction of the Nagymaros power station because its construction would already have begun? The organizers said that on the basis of the television statement by Laszlo

Marothy [minister of envirnoment protection and water management], they think that the ministry puts the time at December-January but they believe that the construction of the project has been speeded up. They thus fear that the foundations of the Nagymaros power station would be laid by the end of October or the beginning of November in the old bed of the Danube. If this takes place then, they, too, will have to acknowledge that stopping the construction is no longer possible. In that case, the Greens will try to compel the government or the bodies directing the construction, the investment project, to fulfill their promises, to include in the building—according to plans—environmental and protection equipment.

The demonstration began precisely at 1300 GMT. By then a crowd of 10,000 people had gathered at Vorosmarty Square. Pal Lovacs [not further identified] gave a speech.

[Announcer] Following the protest speech the demonstrators marched to the parliament building. Attila Balint reports from there:

[Balint] [Passage omitted] The document to be presented to the president of the Presidential Council is, I learned earlier, the document of the Nagymaros Committee and of the groups which agree with the committee. In the document, they argue against constructing the Nagymaros power station. These arguments are, by and large, identical to those with which you now are probably familiar and those which were voiced at the recent conference of the Danube Circle. They analyze the expected environmental effects and probe the profitability of the project. They ask for an immediate halt to the work at Nagymaros.

By the way, the document is to be presented in the next few minutes to the president of the Presidential Council, Dr Bruno F. Straub.

## Straub Receives Petition

*LD1209213088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] The delegates carrying the petition [protesting the Nagymaros project] were received by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, in the Nandorfehervar Hall of parliament. Our correspondent was also at the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] Mr President, thank you for receiving us. We would like to take this opportunity to present you with a petition formulated by us jointly, by representatives of 15 groups belonging to the Nagymaros Committee and the 13 or 14 other groups which have joined us. But at the same time, I think that if you look out of the window, the 30,000 people there prove that this is not only our will.

[Straub] Thank you.

[Unidentified man] Thank you.

[Straub] I assume you do not expect me to study it here and now and to reflect on its various points. I received your letter this morning, in which you indicated that you wanted to come here and present this petition. I read the letter with mixed emotions. The words: We demand that it should be halted immediately, are also contained in it and you suggest that the leaders of the state and the party should deal with this question as conscientiously as you yourselves. To me this says that we are not as conscientious as you are.

Excuse me, but I think that this style, like the mudslinging in American politics, is customary in politics but it is alien to me. What I can say for my part is that I shall, of course, pass this petition on to the relevant authorities. I assume you do not think that the president of the Presidential Council can halt a project immediately. This is obviously a question to be discussed, to be discussed with the relevant officials, and I think your expectation that you should get a reply to this petition is completely justified.

[Unidentified man] I would not wish you, Esteemed Mr President, to misunderstand our efforts but you should also take into account the fact that we have now been voicing these arguments for 5 years, and only now have we succeeded in putting them on your desk. So, if there is an occasional hint of agitation in our tone then the reason lies in this, to no small extent. And I would like to assure you of something else: Our intention is not to destabilize the country.

[Unidentified woman] I would like to add just one thing. There is no time left. The construction has been greatly speeded up. This construction project should simply be stopped. You cannot ponder for years what will happen.

[Straub] You all know very well that we have convened the National Assembly for the 5th [as heard]. It will discuss this, not on the first day but on the second day, but maybe even on the first day...

[Unidentifed woman interrupts] But it is still the government's stance that we shall continue building it. And until then...

[Straub interrupts] The government's stance is that it will submit a report to parliament, and no matter what parliament decides, it will accept that decision. This is the government's stance.

[Unidentified woman] But the government's report states that the construction must continue.

[Straub] Is parliament an irresponsible bunch?

[Unidentified man] We do not think for a moment that parliament is irresponsible. But we do feel that parliament is uninformed.

[Straub] Parliament will be acquainted with the standpoint of science, because the Academy has again been tasked with expressing its opinion regarding this material. This is a question of scientific responsibility. [end recording]

[Announcer] You have heard 3 and ½ minutes of the nearly 20-minute discussion, during which the delegates also said they would happily take all the parliamentary deputies on a cruise such as the one taken by a group of deputies which had been organized by Donaukraftwerke. And on this cruise, so-called independent experts would hold a briefing on all the things one needs to know about the power station.

Naturally, the delegates also reported back to the 20,000 people about what they had done, what they had discussed with Bruno F. Straub. The mass rally ended with a disciplined march.

### Pozsgay Discusses Petition

*LD1209204588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, minister of state and parliamentary deputy, by Henrik Havas at the Technical University in Budapest on 12 September—live]

[Text] [Havas] A few minutes ago, Imre Pozsgay, in his capacity as minister of state and parliamentary deputy, was handed the petition by participants of today's demonstration. What is you reaction to this petition?

[Pozsgay] As I only received it a few minutes ago, I am not yet familiar with its content. Although I am familiar with the objective of the demonstration, I am also aware that the people who marched to the parliament building had similar intentions. In any case, I can promise the demonstrators that the government and the National Assembly will responsibly and thoroughly study the content of the petition. It will not be ignored when future decisions are made.

And let me add, as I have already had the opportunity of saying at the mass rally here, that in the future this will not have to be regarded as unnatural. Here or there in the country or in a city there may be diverse initiatives, which enter into polemics with one another but still head for one overall goal. This is how I have looked upon the demonstration which set off from Voeroesmarty Square. I very much hope, and I have also received messages to this effect, that they have thought similarly about our rally.

[Havas] When the government or a body of experts discuss a project such as this power station [the Bos-Nagymaros Dam], they argue about gigawatts and various specific data. How much weight does a demonstration, a petition, a social movement, carry with the government?

[Pozsgay] Look, we must recall the old words of wisdom here; this is not just a question of experts: We do not have to be shoe-makers to be able to tell where the shoe is tight. Whether the decision is for or against, the consequences of the decision must still be paid for by the people. No one else can pay in the country. There is not a single filler in the government's pocket for this purpose. By saying this, the government does not want to evade the consequences of the decision, but to share responsibility. And in this sharing of responsibility, the opinions of those who participate in the demonstration and those who oppose similar demonstrations all matter.

I think some kind of a common truth will take shape from it and we, as Hungarian citizens, will pay for a project or for its postponement. I think this is the honorable, correct way to proceed.

[Havas] You have used the expression: whether the decision is for or against. Does this mean that there are still questions awaiting a decision?

[Pozsgay] Look, you have just set a trap for me, for we began this converation by saying that I am still not familiar with the petition. The petition's recommendations must be examined, I can promise this. I cannot give any other answer at this moment, not because I am looking for a way to escape, but because I am not yet sure what we ought to do.

[Havas] Then allow me to ask one final question, and I hope you will not see it as a threat. Will the report by Laszlo Marothy on behalf of the Council of Ministers contain the government's decision?

[Pozsgay] That I don't know. It is possible that for the moment this will be a report by the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management. For all this greatly depends on the standpoint adopted by parliamentary committees which are now acquainting themselves feverishly wih the same thing that the government is trying to inform itself about.

[Havas] Thank you for the interview.

### Szeged Students Mount Protest

*LD1209215 688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] There has been a demonstration in Szeged to protest the construction of the Nagymaros Dam. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports:

[Ladanyi] About 5,000 people, mostly students, marched to Bugonyic Square, to the central building of the Attila Jozsef University of Science. They read the stand of the Nagymaros Committee dated 11 August and collected signatures for it. They demanded that the construction be stopped until the parliament decides. They also asked

for a referendum on the matter, and the publication of alternative opinions which have not so far been made public. This is contained in the protest letter they are sending to the government.

### Party Leaders Attend Reform Rallies

*LD1209192288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] The series of reform party evenings has started with a mass rally. Late this afternoon in front of the central building of the Budapest Technical University, several thousand university students, high school students, polytechnic students, and working youth gathered to express their interest in the comprehensive and consistent implementation of reforms. Our correspondent Peter Marvanyi reports from the rally:

[Marvanyi] The principle slogan of the reform evenings is: Toward Democratic Socialism. Alongside the large posters, several smaller placards may be seen in the area between the technical university and the Danube River. Here are some of them: We have no time to wait; The citizen must be trusted; We want to enjoy the fruits of reform now.

Csaba Hamori and Imre Pozsgay [members of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo] spoke at the mass rally, after the opening by Csaba Oros, secretary of the Budapest Technical University KISZ Committee. By the way, Csaba Oros read a joint statement. Here it is: Demonstrations (?have) taken place on both sides of the Danube today. Such an event is rare in Hungary. The organizers had met and consulted each other about issues of environment and protection and some approaches to the reform of the system of political institutions. The organizers of the event hope that it will become a regular happening so that it will be possible to take a stand for causes as well as against causes.

The statement was signed by the organizers of the reform evenings, and by representatives of the Nagymaros Committee.

In his speech at the rally, Csaba Hamori spoke about general problems. It must be made clear in the coming years, he said, which social groups will gain what and which will lose what. As long as we do not clarify this we are putting a brake on the reforms. Rethinking the redistribution is necessary in order for us not to hand on the problems of the present to the future generations, as has been done for decades.

Imre Pozsgay spoke about constitutionalism, the creation of a new state structure, and about the new social concensus. He emphasized that he is against all types of one-sided reforms. Political reform must not be carried out in place of economic reform, the two must proceed in parallel. Democratic socialism suits our national identity and our conscience and it is able to renew the (?divided) nation, the minister of state said.

Those who intend to shepherd the country toward national unity instead of a crisis are in the majority in the country. The open political crisis is our enemy, it paralyzes us, it easily transforms a country of we'll do it tomorrow [pato pal] into a country of let's do it without waiting [huebele balazs].

So much for the mass rally, which is still underway at this time. By the way, several thousands are listening to the speakers here on the square in front of the technical university.

At 1900 this evening the Pol-Podium rally begins in the big hall of the central building of the university; Imre Pozsgay, Csaba Hamori, Attila Agh, Bela Kadar, and Sandor Balogh will participate. The title of the debate is: Why Have We Missed Our Way?. The other evening debate will take place in Building 'E' of the university with the participation of Jeno Andics [director of the MSZMP Agitation and Propaganda Department], Mihaly Bihari, and Istvan Kukorelli. It will also begin at 1900 under the slogan: The road toward a constitutional state.

### Nemeth Addresses Economists on Restructuring

*LD1209124388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Some 800 people are attending the 26th itinerant meeting of economists, which opened today in the Erkel Cultural Center in Gyula. Eva Cseh and Erno Kardos have sent a report with recordings:

[Cseh] Much just criticism is currently leveled at the unexpected government measures, because the modifications of regulators hamper the successful economic management of certain enterprises, Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said at the itinerant session of economists.

[Kardos] But it also is true, the speaker admitted, that the enterprises, for want of independence, have lost their ability to react to changes in the world market. It is necessary to change this situation quickly, because many people believe that our current economic management can be described as a failure.

[Cseh] The Central Committee secretary put it like this: From below only the words can be sensed, but there are a few specific actions which bring results. Of course, he also added that the restructuring program [kibontakozasi program] did not promise a quick turnabout.

[Kardos] He noted one result this year is that we have curbed the pace of growing debt. True, the deficit in our balance of payments nevertheless may take shape at approximately $700 million, which is higher than we had envisaged. The state budget deficit will be 8 billion [currency not specified] higher than the plan.

[Cseh] Miklos Nemeth explained that the economy has become disorganized due to the lack of market competition, which is how he justified the higher than ever 17-percent inflation rate. He also noted that the government had been unable to substantively change the living conditions of 1.5 million people who live at social subsistence levels. He continued his speech as follows:

[Begin Nemeth recording] If we look overall at the hitherto economic changes of 1988 and at its expected processes, it is apparent that the stabilization process is accompanied by many economic and social tensions which are becoming exacerbated. This affects the assessment of the situation and society's general mood because it can be directly sensed. On the other hand, people cannot directly sense the improvement in the trade and balance of payments as a result.

However, we must be clearly aware, and we have to make the various layers of society realize, that without accepting the tensions and conflicts of stabilization, the foundations cannot be laid for any kind of later restructuring. For this reason, the shaping of the general disposition, the general mood, is extremely important. It must be made aware of the country's true performance, because a disbelieving and frustrated society is unable to pick up the glove which the surrounding world has thrown down before it; it is unable to answer the challenge. [end recording]

[Kardos] Property relations must be transformed, Miklos Nemeth added. Then he discussed the necessary changes in our depersonalized property system.

[Begin Nemeth recording] The transformation of property relations is a cornerstone of the economic program. It focuses on the development of workable forms of social property and making private, as well as individual, property equal. We must take it as our point of departure that the various property forms cannot be classified as being of a lower or higher order, according to a scale which from the outset is abstract, but they can be judged solely on the basis of economic effectiveness and their ability to develop.

Alongside conditions which are neutral as regards competition, the proportions which take shape between the various property forms in the various spheres of the economy must be entrusted to the sensibly influenced self-movement of the economy. It would not be advisable to state in advance the desired proportions, because as far as this is concerned, we have no ideas that are supported scientifically. It is in practice that we will have to find the effective method of joint operation of the most varied kinds of property firms. [end recording]

[Cseh] In our country the market resembles a second-hand market, and undertakings resemble profiteering, said the Central Committee secretary.

[Kardos] In his opinion, this is why government measures are necessary, measures which enterprises are able to follow and which genuinely form a workable market of money and workforce. Unfortunately, economic direction to date has not proclaimed an unequivocal market policy, Miklos Nemeth said. He then discussed the economy's planned liberalization:

[Begin Nemeth recording] Liberalization is often and willingly interpreted as automatically meaning more wages, capital, and imports. This is a misunderstanding. Realistic and genuine liberalization means freer access to the production factor, in a market manner, and at market prices, and only as a function of the fulfillment of the corrected rigorous, market, and regulation conditions does it result in more capital, wages, and imports.

The other similar and maybe most crucial point is the interpretation of import liberalization. Professional thinking in this sphere is especially extreme at present. All at once we want something perfect, the real solution, and if this does not fly owing to restrictions of whether it can be financed, we are inclined to say that for the moment there is nothing to do. We customarily add that this is because policy does not undertake conflicts, but my conviction is that this is not so. The essential issue here as well is how can we make progress by using the real opportunities. I feel that the greatest danger is that we will let significant chances, serious reform measures, slip by in our grieving over its being impossible to make very great advances in the economy and society all at once.

It is necessary to liberalize at places and to the extent that we are able to do so, even among the current oppressive constraints. For example, I am not convinced that it is absolutely necessary to maintain the full obligation to hand in foreign currency, or the classical institution of a foreign currency monopoly. [end recording]

## Nemeth Interviewed on Reform

*LD1209224988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Economists have been holding a conference in Gyula. It may be that important things are happening upstairs but the changes cannot be felt down below. This is how Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, referred to the public mood. He was asked by Anna Juranyi to face the "Newsreel" camera:

[Begin recording] [Juranyi] Was this the reason why the enterprise strategy has now come into the focus of the economists' conference?

[Nemeth] I think that this is one of the reasons, under any circumstances. However, perhaps it is not the most important one. Since 1968 the majority of economists and enterprise leaders have been approaching the methods and essence of the economy, the enterprise strategy, and business politics in a diferent way than they had before.

Undoubtedly, new phenomena and new conditions do exist to which they now have to adapt. However, I feel that this remark of mine was primarily aimed at—and I would like to single this out—that the responsibility of the administrative organs, the government, may be described as being the creation of the appropriate conditions. However, we must be aware that our struggle, the stabilization, and the renewal depend, under any circumstances, on things below—the work of the enterprises. And it is our prime interest and obligation to strengthen this.

[Juranyi] What are the most necesary changes and conditions for the new enterprise strategies, really operational, viable enterprise strategies, to be born?

[Nemeth] From the point of view of economic policy, taking an approach from any viewpoint, the new elements are those which have not just now evolved in the course of their incorporation into our economic system but which evolved 2 to 3 years ago: For the bank reform, the new enterprise management forms are already operating; the new tax system was introduced at the beginning of the year. However, in this respect I sense a new qualitative leap with the introduction of the new company law next year. This means the construction of horizontal and vertical relations, the renewal of a personnel policy, cadre policy, the management of capital, the coming to the fore of the human factor; and in this respect the enterprise managers must adapt.

[Juranyi] And in this respect the most exciting question perhaps is the degree to which the present enterprise management is suitable for this new approach, for the absorption of this new quality.

[Nemeth] I think that the most characteristic example was given by the managers themselves. Two or 3 years ago I heard at one of the sessions of the Hungarian Economic Chamber that we should frankly confess that we, enterprise managers—or a significant proportion of them, if I remember correctly; the figure 40 to 50 percent was referred to—are unsuitable for the new and increased requirements. Well, of course, a few years have passed since then. The responsibility and potential of the working collectives in electing their leaders have increased but, in any case, I must say that our standard today, the level of management of our enterprise leaders, is not satisfactory.

[Juranyi] Finally, you have spoken about the importance of domestic political stability. What do you see as the guarantee of this?

[Nemeth] I would single out one thing: the unity between words and deeds. [end recording]

## Poszgay Discusses Reforms

*LD1209222388 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Excerpt] The debate is still in progress at the Budapest Technical University where a week-long series of political events entitled "reform evening" began today. One of the items on tonight's agenda is entitled "Why Have We Lost Our Way?" One of the participants in the debate is Imre Pozsgay, minister of state and member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo. We asked him about the event's slogans, such as: Democracy, socialism, and a state based on law. This is one slogan. Tomorrow's fate is determined today, is another slogan.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] I think any decent politician or any decent young person can support such a program. But as they themselves say, they do not have much time to realize it, but they still demand a role in its realization. What possibilities, what room for maneuver, do young people have today?

[Pozsgay] They feel that it is too tight; this is why they are restless [feszengenek]. And this is why our common affairs must be clarified in meetings such as the one we are preparing today. I have to say that time has become an embarrassing phenomenon. It is too little, but at the same time it is too much. What I mean is that matters have overtaken us. The signs of crisis indicate that our decisions have come too late. The political domain was in a defensive position and was unable to respond to the challenges.

At the same time, we have managed time as if we had plenty of it. And now we are hearing demands urging decisions. Rashness and muddle would be the wrong response for making up for missed opportunities. Perhaps we shall succeed in reaching a consensus in this as well, and together, the older and the younger generations, we shall find the correct pace and there will be a resurgence without a catastrophe.

[Correspondent] Unfortunately, due to earlier bad decisions many young people have now lost confidence. What is the guarantee that it will be possible to regain this? Are there any concrete ideas on this?

[Pozsgay] Yes, there are, but this is no longer a question of loss of confidence, but for many also a loss of faith. We must prove in our cooperation that this political leadership fights resolutely for renewal, for the unfolding of the real content of the reform. There is one thing which we should watch very closely, that they should not completely lose their sense of values. In other words, instead of indifference or turning away, they should seek a solution for themselves in deeds.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, is our first and most important task?

[Pozsgay] Events have already provided a schedule. We should pursue political reforms and economic reforms simultaneously. In other words, in the economy people must be made to feel, to sense, that despite all the problems and all the crises the possibility for prosperity exists, together with a fair sphere of action, division. And

in politics, the citizens should have a role in all this. Without their initiative and the possibilities provided by their personality the country's economic capabilities cannot unfold.

[Correspondent] This series of events can only be one small step for youth and the political domain to discuss the tasks together.

[Pozsgay] It is a modest step, but at least we are expanding openness. And openness forces a division of power, it compels the establishment of a supervised system of power which makes really responsible decisions. And if it can happen through such initiatives as this, then it is no small achievement. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## Miklos Discusses State-Church Relations

*LD1209121588 Budapest MTI in English*
*1043 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—In an interview with the weekly "MAGYARORSZAG" state secretary, Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, discussed the relationship between the state and the churches, and talked about Hungarian church policy.

Imre Miklos said:

"We very much appreciate the good relationship we have established with the Catholic Church, and wish to foster it in the future, as this is in the interest of the Hungarian nation and Hungarian society. However, it must also be stressed that Hungary is not a homogeneous Catholic country. Protestants, believers of other denominations, atheists, communists and people with differing world outlooks, all live here. Their interests and views also require, and deserve, respect. All people in this country, irrespective of their world outlook or religous conviction, are equal. No one can be discriminated against.

"The socialist Hungarian state carries out its policy of alliance with all churches on a principles, but not dogmatic, basis. We respect dogmas, but maintain our own principles."

Discussing the invitation extended to Pope John Paul II, the state secretary said:

"The invitation is the logical continuation of, and a major stage in, a long-term policy. The invitation naturally implies progress in the fostering of relations.

"Relations established with the Vatican have come a long way over the past 25 years. This would not have been possible without the efforts made by both sides jointly to pave the road to be followed. We mutually proved ready to make rational compromises, and observed the agreements in a correct manner, which increased confidence on both sides. This path led to the invitation, and its acceptance.

"We hope that the visit of the pope, at a mutually suitable date, will strengthen the correctness of the policy followed to date, and will encourage the further development of the perfection of relations that are beneficial to both sides."

With regard to the relationship between the state and the churches, the state secretary noted:

"The State Office for Church Affairs has taken many initiatives during the last few years. It submitted proposals to the state leadership for 'small steps', including the introduction of theological education by correspondence course, the extension of religious education outside school, the involvement of laymen to make up for a shortage of clergy, requesting a permit for the introduction of a women's order, the extension of the social welfare activity of the churches, the introduction of alternative military service—I could list many other examples. We play an active, initiating role in resolving the issues raised at the meeting this spring between church leaders and Prime Minister Karoly Grosz. Our answers to their concrete questions have, for some time, been on church leaders' desks.

"Our views correspond with those of church leaders about the fact that many values came about in the past 30 years that should be safeguarded and respected. We thus have to rely on these when we create the framework for further progress."

Discussing the future of cooperation, Imre Miklos said:

"With respect to the content and pace of changes, views frequently show considerable difference not only in talks with the state, but also within the churches. Therefore, we hold patient talks with the churches and religious denominations, talks that observe the principles of the alliance in effect between us. We reciprocally avoid confrontation and the unjustified heightening of problems. We strive to reach agreements which take into consideration the interests and arguments of both sides. We can achieve this only through compromises that do not force either side to give up their principles and convictions. Meanwhile, we shall not forget our allies: It is our moral obligation to defend those who worked with us in solving our difficult problems against unjust attacks.

"On the other hand, as regards those, in view of our intensifying relations, are anxious about the future of socialism or of the church, and who believe that ideological opposition excludes all practical, political cooperation between religious and non-religious people, we are striving to make them understand that the efforts and activities of both believers and non-believers should be channelled in the same direction to attain our fundamental humanistic goals, and to overcome the serious probelms and contradictions of our development", said Imre Miklos.

**Slupsk Factory Employees Stop Work Over Wages**
*LD1209145288 Koszalin Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] At the "Alka" northern leather industry enterprise in Slupsk, part of the work force on the first and second shifts did not work today after the breakfast break. The talks currently taking place have revealed that the interruption, inspired by the trade union of workers of the Slupsk "Alka", has an economic basis. The dispute between part of the work force and the management concerns a new wages system recently introduced, which in the opinion of the workers and the trade union is unclear [maloczytelny] and does not correspond to the expectations of the Slupsk shoe factory workers that were signaled earlier.

**Szczecin Workers Launch Dispute Against Ministry**
*LD1209220888 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Szczecin, Sept. 12—In view of the failure to solve some wage and work-organization problems the provincial board of trade unions federation of municipal workers decided, in line with the law on trade unions, to start a collective dispute against the Construction Ministry which governs the municipal economy.

Theses to be negotiated with the ministry and local authorities will first of all include changes in the organization of work of the enterprises concerned. Many postulates concern old age and disability pensions and improving the quality of tools and equipment used by the municipal sector.

**Szczecin PZPR Appoints Reform Committee**
*LD1209141688 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Szczecin—A resolution of Saturday's plenum of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee states the need for a deepening of reform processes in all areas of the economy and services. It obligates party organizations together with trade unions to a review of worker conflicts currently in progress and resolutions and demands presented by work forces, with the aim of speeding up their solution. The Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee regards changes in the organization, style, and method of work of the voivodship party organization as imperative. In connection with this, it has appointed a commission, chaired by First Secretary Stanislaw Miskiewicz, to work out suitable proposals, which may also be presented by nonparty members and representatives of allied parties.

**Miodowicz on Economy to Krakow TU Members**
*LD1209212788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] [Announcer] Alfred Miodowicz today met with trade unionists at their workplaces in Krakow.

[Correspondent Teresa Kacparkiewicz] Going beyond recent OPZZ resolutions, he presented the trade union's assessment of the Polish economy and explained once again its stance regarding trade union pluralism. He recalled that since their inception the trade unions had been interested in economic affairs. They had expressed concern at methods of implementing the reform.

The trade unions have critically assessed the national socio-economic plan and continue to do so, for two reasons: First, it does not bring out several of the most important matters which need to be resolved; it just talks about improving all spheres of life little by little. It pays too much attention to the constantly widening investment front. The matters which should be given priority in the plan are housing construction and food supplies. The failure to solve housing problems is our country's tragedy, one which is greatest for 25 to 35-year-olds, who took the most active part in the recent strikes.

Alfred Miodowicz stressed that trade unionists worked out a program for breaking through barriers holding back the development of housing construction at the so-called conference of the homeless. This program was accepted by the government but not implemented at all. Trade unionists have protested more times than once against the prices and incomes policy, arguing that the economy is not improved by prices only, but by changes in the structure of investments and by increasing supply. Higher prices, in contrast to results, do not give Poles easier access to products.

OPZZ representatives will take part in tomorrow's Politburo meeting. The topic will once again be an exchange of views on the prices and incomes policy in the first half of this year.

**Czyrek, Orzechowski, Others on National Accord**
*LD1209201688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Jozef Czyrek and Marian Orzechowski met for several hours with over 80 Polish academics representing varied world views and political orientations. The meeting was open, partner-like, and frank. Discussion centered on the fundamental socioeconomic and political questions of contemporary Poland and the chances of and perspectives for socioeconomic and political reforms. The participants also discussed the character of national accord in association with the idea of the roundtable talks as the prerequisite and indispensible condition for repelling the threat of the disintegration of Poland's civilization. The participants stressed their hope that the roundtable talks will run their course in a constructive atmosphere and bring beneficial results for society and the state.

**PRON Calls for Roundtable Without Limits**
*LD1209195588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] The standpoint drawn up during today's meeting of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee states that the successive outbreak of conflicts in the

country's crisis situation showed more clearly than ever before the absolute imperative to look for a broader agreement.

The talks recently entered into, aiming at a roundtable meeting, have opened up an opportunity to speed up this process. We should sit down at this joint table as quickly as possible, the document states, without preconditions and without any limitation of subjects, with a readiness to look for a compromise.

We demand more profound economic and political reforms, more consistent than hitherto. We will continue, the PRON National Council's Executive Committee states, to support every effort aimed at broadening the circle of active supporters of a fundamental reconstruction of the Polish economy and profound reform of the system of exercizing authority.

### Allied Party Leaders Discuss Current Situation

*LD1209182288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] A meeting has been held between Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Malinowski [president of the ZSL Presidium] and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak [chairman of the SD Presidium] during which matters concerning the further strengthening and enriching of the allied cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD were discussed.

There has also been a meeting of the PZPR-ZSL-SD Central Cooperation Commission with the participation of the signatories of the declaration on the PRON. Taking part in the meeting on behalf the side of the PZPR were Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk, and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak; on behalf of the ZSL were Roman Malinowski, Jozef Kukulka, Tadeusz Szelachowski, Kazimierz Fortuna, and Bogdan Krolewski; on behalf of the SD were Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, Marek Wieczorek, Edward Zlobicki, Alojzy Bryl, and Stanislaw Slowik.

Also taking part in the meeting were Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association; Wieslaw Gwizdz, chairman of the Polish Social-Catholic Union, and Wiktor Lejk, deputy chairman of the Christian Social Association. Also participating in the meeting were Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Council, and Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary-general of the PRON National Council.

The PZPR-ZSL-SD Central Cooperation Commission discussed the country's sociopolitical situation. Unease was expressed about tendencies and facts which threaten the line of dialogue and accord, complicate efforts favoring the improvement of the economy, and which also strike at the legal order, the constitutional order, and the Polish reason of state. At the same time the meeting confirmed the will to continue joint efforts to broaden the scope of national accord in order to overcome crisis phenomena, the acceleration and deepening of the process of reforms, and the successful development of the Polish People's Republic.

### SD Presidium Meets on Sociopolitical Situation

*LD1209202788 Warsaw PAP in English 1858 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party held a session today to discuss the current socio-political situation in Poland, preparations for the nearest Sejm meeting and the party's stand on the concept of the "round table."

The session reiterated the urgent necessity to reform the hitherto shape of the tri-partite political alliance of the PUWP, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party to really guarantee equal rights to all partners.

### Foreign Ministry Press Conference Reviewed

*LD1209200388 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 12 Sep 88*

["Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Conference (by Waldemar Janiec and Krzysztof Rozner)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—The impact of the August strikes on Polish foreign policy, the visit by Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski to the FRG, the issue of the visit of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland, the participation of the Polish foreign minister in the coming session of the U.N. General Assembly, and this country's activity for settlement of regional conflicts made the leading topics discussed at today's press conference of the Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski.

Strikes and Polish Foreign Policy [subhead]

Speaking about the impact of the August strikes on Poland's foreign policy, Staniszewski stated: The strikes have enlivened interest in Poland on the part of foreign political circles and public opinion, although Poland is not after interest increased in this way. Evaluations and reactions of the socialist states were marked by both concern and friendliness as regards further development of our country. Also manifested was concern over the negative influence of strikes on the economy and success of the second stage of the reform.

The stand of Western states on recent developments in Poland was cautious and moderate, and reactions were calm in general. Analyzed were the strikes' consequences for Poland's internal development, for processes going on in other socialist countries and also their impact on the future of East-West dialogue, first of all, in Europe.

However, though generally the reaction of the West was calm, in various statements there appeared voices, scarce this time, which were unfriendly towards Poland and which called for exerting pressure.

Here I would like to point out that the annoucement of the "round table" meeting of representatives of various groups clearly testifies to the consistent will of the authoriies to search for national agreement on the possibly broadest plane by political means and by means of patient negotiations.

The settlement of our Polish issues will undoubtedly be of major importance also for consolidation of positive transformations in East-West relations, including the success of the CSCE process.

Visit by Minister Tadeusz Olechowski to FRG [subhead]

Asked about the date of the visit by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski to the FRG, Staniszewski said that the issue had been on the agenda since the visit by FRG Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Poland last January. The sides suggested various possible dates of the return visit. The date recently discussed referred to October and November. The spokesman added that Olechowski would probably previously meet with Genscher in New York where they would agree the date of the return visit more precisely.

Visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Poland [subhead]

Asked to comment on Western reports on the postponement of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland, Staniszewski stated: The visit of Chancellor Kohl could not have been postponed as it has not been settled yet. It is necessary to recall that the chiefs of the Polish and the FRG Foreign Ministries agreed last January to set up three teams to discuss bilateral issues with a view to preparing the visit of the chancellor in Poland and that they agreed that this discussion would end in a return visit by the Polish foreign minister to Bonn. It is only then that the concrete date of Kohl's stay in this country will be settled.

The future visit by the FRG chancellor, the spokesman added, should be a remarkable event in bilateral relations, hence its thorough preparation is necessary.

! can also assure you that Poland has been doing nothing to delay Kohl's visit, Staniszewski declared. The work of the teams which have been preparing the visit has been delayed to some extent, the spokesman admitted but declined to specify the character of emerging difficulties in the name of the success of the talks.

Poland at 43rd Session of U.N. Assembly [subhead]

Speaking about Poland's participation in the coming session of the U.N. General Assembly, Staniszewski told newsmen that Minister Tadeusz Olechowski intended to meet with some 30 counterparts, heads of foreign ministries.

Olechowski will take part in the general debate to present Poland's stand on the whole complex of issues of international security, including joint initiatives of socialist states on shaping a universal system of peace and international security, and also on supporting them with original Polish initiatives. The ideas included in the expanded version of the Jaruzelski Plan, particularly the issue of conventional disarmament in Europe, have been acquiring considerable significance in the conditions of the positive evolution of East-West relations.

The Polish delegation will also point to the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the declaration on education of societies in the spirit of peace by the U.N. General Assembly following the Polish initiative. Poland has always treated this issue as very important, taking into consideration the fact that conflicts between states start after all in human minds. We will also touch upon the issue of the proclamation of the International Family Year and upon the participation of the U.N. in international debt and confidence building in international economic relations.

Poland and Regional Conflicts [subhead]

Discussing the activity of this country for settlement of regional conflicts, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that Poland had welcomed with satisfaction a cease-fire between Iraq and Iran, the two states with which Poland has been maintaining traditionally good relations. Poland confirms her full support for the Security Council's Resolution No. 598.

We have supported the agreements on Afghanistan.

We support the efforts leading to a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem on the principles of national reconciliation and in tune with the results of an informal meeting of the sides involved, which was held in Jakarta late last July.

Poland declares itself on the side of a just solution to the Middle-East conflict by way of adherence to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian nation to self-determination and of guaranteeing to all states of this region a right to live in peace and within safe borders.

As for the situation in the south of Africa, we condemn the colonial occupation of Namibia and the policy of apartheid. We support the quadripartite negotiations on the situation in south-western Africa leading to a peaceful regulation of the conflict, including the independence for Namibia as has been planned by the United Nations.

The spokesman added that Poland, loyal to its traditions, has actively participated in peace missions in various parts of the world for over 35 years now.

Poland Will Play Host to... [subhead]

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that King of Spain Juan Carlos had accepted the invitation to pay a visit to Poland. The date of the visit has not been fixed yet.

Asked about the date of the Polish visit of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Staniszewski said that unofficial and unconfirmed information suggests that the visit is planned for October 16-17.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also said that Syrian Vice-President and leader of the Ba'th Party Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah is expected in Poland this month.

After the FAO Conference [subhead]

Asked to evaluate the recently concluded European regional conference of the FAO in Krakow, Staniszewski said that for the first time this kind of FAO conference adopted—on the initiative of Polish delegation—a political declaration on international cooperation in agriculture.

A special role of this conference, he added, consists in the fact that it has consolidated the trends in the U.N. system, which are beneficial to us, to develop European regional cooperation being, at the same time, of a very significant political meaning as a concrete contribution to the implementation of the idea of building a common European home. In this sense the conference has added to the removal of divisions in our region, that is, to stabilisation of situation in it.

We are also satisfied with the fact that FAO director-general, Mr. Saouma, and secretary of the Executive Committee of the European Economic Committee, Mr. Hintereger, were present at the conference. They contributed to its success.

40 Years of DPRK [subhead]

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the DPRK, said Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman, Poland gave a due rank to this jubilee. The Polish nation has a full understanding of the striving of the Korean nation for a peaceful re-unification. We give our political support to the inter-Korean dialogue.

After Non-Aligned States' Conference [subhead]

Asked about Poland's stance on the movement of non-aligned countries Staniszewski said that he saw a far-going convergence of views between People's Poland and those countries on the basic problems of the world today. He added that Poland had accepted with satisfaction the decision to hold the next non-aligned summit in Belgrade, capital of a country which was among the founders of the movement.

Ari'el Sharon in Poland [subhead]

Answering a question concerning the Polish visit of Israeli Minister Ari'el Sharon, Staniszewski said that the visit was private. Sharon had a tourist visa and came to Poland to lay flowers in Auschwitz, the place where his relatives had died. Staniszewski assured, at the same time, that Sharon had no meetings with anyone of the Polish Foreign Ministry.

"Sharon might have had contacts about which we do not know, but one thing is certain, our ministry did not organize them for him," Staniszewski said.

## United Peasant Party Holds Third Plenum

### Tasks, Resolutions Outlined

*LD0109010988 Warsaw PAP in English 2341 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—At is 3rd plenary meeting here today, the Chief Committee of the United Peasants Party (UPP) carried out an evaluation of Poland's social, political and economic situation and set down party tasks for the nearest future. UPP President Roman Malinowski delivered a UPP CC Presidium report this effect.

In productive discussion which covered many topics support was expressed for basic assessment of latest developments in Poland and for the stand adopted on these issues by the UPP CC Presidium. It was stressed that the situation in Poland was ripe for major solutions.

The plenum adopted a resolution defining main tasks and guidelines for the UPP operation. The UPP Chief Committee declared itself in favour of political settlement of tensions and unrest taking place in Poland as well as of consolidation of the constitutional and legal order in the state.

The UPP Chief Committee found full and consistent implementation of social, political and economic reforms, socialist renewal and national agreement to be a condition of consolidation of the state and regular development of the economy. Decisive changes in the system of exercising authority are indispensable to this end.

According to the UPP Chief Committee, it is necessary to:

—Separate prerogatives and responsibilities of political parties from representative bodies,

—Introduce into all levels of state authority the coalition system of exercising authority based on the alliance of the PUWP, the UPP and the Democratic Party (DP),

—Alter the extent of partners share in the three-party coalition so that the coalition recognized identity and autonomy of each of the partners and ensured a possibility of real co-decision-making and co-responsibility in managing the state,

—Expand and consolidate the coalition of broad patriotic forces which should be reflected in a reorganized government, in a future composition of the Sejm and in all structures of the state.

The UPP Chief Committee deemed it necessary to consistently pursue the programme of radical reforms as approved of by society. The committee opted for detailed solutions of the price and income policy which would be worked out by the government with the assistance of workers trade unions and social and professional organizations of farmers and which would effectively curb price and pay growth.

The UPP Chief Committee declared itself in favour of amending objectives of the investment policy to the advantage to market- and food-oriented investment projects. The committee appealed for making agriculture and food economy a national industry.

The UPP Chief Committee opted for acceleration of the processes of rationalization of organizational structures of the economy, for decentralization, demonopolization and debureaucratization of processes of economy management.

## Malinowski Addresses Plenum

*AU0709060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 88 p 5*

[Speech by Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL, at the Third ZSL Plenum in Warsaw on 31 August]

[Text] Colleagues! Poland is once again shaken by unrest and fears. The process of socialist renewal, reforms, and national accord, which has been implemented with such trouble, is once again undergoing a major test. For the second time in a short period, we in Poland are experiencing a wave of strikes in some work places, accompanied by moral and material losses, mounting market difficulties, and growing fears for our individual and collective existence, the future of the reform, and Poland's prestige and international credibility.

The ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium assessed the development of the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and adopted a stance on it. The Presidium also said that despite the intensified work of agriculture, these problems ought to be the subject of a meeting of the ZSL Supreme Committee. We have published this stance by the ZSL Supreme Committee.

(...) The latest events have once again made clear the importance of the Tenth ZSL Congress resolutions, the need to accelerate the sociopolitical and economic reforms, and the need for all of us to make the best use of the time factor in every state structure. Inconsistency and delay interfere in the solution of our Polish problems. We are still making poor use of the time we spoke of at the Tenth Congress.

Having adopted a consistent implementation of the program put forth at the Ninth ZSL Congress and the resolutions passed at the Tenth Congress, we must take a stance on the current tasks facing our peasant party.

Colleagues! No one can remain indifferent to the challenges of today and the problems and difficulties of the state and people. No one may be excused from responsibility for the chain of events.

We reiterate that the ZSL is in favor of a political solution to all tension and all conflicts in our country; dialogue and accord; a change to the system of exercising authority; and an energetic participation in and firm desire to remove the barriers to the reform.

We accord our recognition to the proposal by the chairman of the Council of Ministers Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline Committee to hold a roundtable with everyone who professes his support for the constitutional legal order and a desire to serve the fatherland. Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak has commenced the first round of talks today.

We accord our recognition to the resolutions of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the final speech by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, which we consider a broad invitation to expand the coalition and socialist pluralism, in other words an invitation to help create the conditions for a firm emergence from the sociopolitical and economic crisis. All forces should avail themselves of this invitation, for the sake of Poland. Our joint efforts and talks should lead to a broad coalition of Polish forces, capable of leading the country out of the sociopolitical and economic crisis. Such a great coalition should find expression in a reconstructed government, the future Sejm, and every structure of our state. The ZSL is in favor of such a coalition, will act for the sake of it, and take an active part in it. Responsibility for Poland is indivisible; this responsibility has to be the business of all Poles.

Full of concern for the welfare of the nation and state, including rural areas and agriculture, we consistently hold the view that the basis for implementing the process of reforms and national accord and easing all tensions, difficulties, and problems must consist of, on the one hand, an expansion of the platform of government and changes to the system of authority and, on the other hand, respect for the law, constitutional legal order, and public discipline. The law may be changed and has to be improved and altered according to the processes of development, but the law in force has to be observed by everyone.

This is the basic guarantee of citizens security and liberties; this constitutes the strength of the state and a foundation of authority; this is a condition for the democratization of life and the building of the nation's future.

In Poland, improving the legal system has become an important part of the post-August process of renewal, reforms, and democratization of life. There are many innovative solutions that we have adopted during the difficult years of the past. This process is continuing, and the scope of action of the new components of our sociopolitical system is spreading. The list of topics that we have dealt with is very long. They are now irreversible. Today, one can no longer imagine a return of the Sejm's previous role and that of the old people's councils, not to mention the satellite-like interparty structure and the orders-directives system of authority. New legal institutions are taking shape. In 1988 we are a different state, a society that thinks differently. The socialist system, often accused of being non-reformable, is in fact being transformed by Polish experience and reforms.

New possibilities for enriching these experiences are opening up. We will take an active part in discussions on the subject of initiatives that have been presented, including the idea of a council of national accord, new Sejm election rules, a law on associations, a plan to create a second chamber in the Sejm, and the idea to reestablish the office of President of the Republic.

The talks and the political and other solutions should lead to the kind of decisions and actions that rule out illegal strikes or the use of force.

All sides to the dialogue must be motivated by the supreme interests of the state. They must eradicate their built-in prejudices and emotions, and aim to achieve consensus based on mutual respect. Imposing one's own interests by means of illegal strikes illustrates a lack of responsibility for one's fatherland. An enterprise cannot be an arena of political struggle. It must be an arena of intensive work and of a search for development paths. The existence of the nation and state depends on this.

The Polish economy has been subjected to a program of radical reforms. Its provisions and principles are not open to question, but the way in which it is being implemented is encouraging a lot of criticism.

It is the ZSL's duty to contribute to the shaping of the reform process in Poland, which depends on the effort of peasants and on concrete initiatives and undertakings by ZSL people. Nevertheless, people possess a feeling of concern, even in rural areas. Why are these innovative solutions, which after all have also been adopted by other socialist countries, not supplying the expected results? Why is there no improvement to the economy and standard of living? Why is there no faster progress?

For society, and for us ZSL members, it is particularly painful that even if we do succeed in determining needs, assessing the changing situation, and establishing essential action, numerous institutions, cadres, and political aktivs lack the desire, determination, energy, and consistency to implement this action quickly and on a daily basis. For this, we are all paying the supreme price of wasted time and an absence of expected results, the highest price the state can bear.

Unfortunately, practice often diverges from declarations, intentions, programs, and resolutions by the political authorities.

In the work of our state structures, including the government, there is no fast and bold reaction to various conclusions, proposals, and different views. Glossing things over, procrastionation, caution, a lack of personal courage and responsibility, and various group pressures all make the decision-making process longer and even delay the implementation of correct decisions, as a result of which these decisions are more costly and hamper the removal of paradoxes; and erase social energy, initiative, and enterprise.

Procrastination causes these well-known problems to hit back at us with twice as many difficulties, because the punctual solution of these problems is made impossible by the sea of bureaucracy and ponderous structures.

Despite the regrettable experience of the past and all the voluntarism and arrogance accompanying past decisions, complacency, high-mindedness, arrogance, bureaucracy, cliquishness, and a desire to avoid inconvenience are making a comeback. It is time that all these qualities become a part of the past and disappeared from Polish reality, to be replaced by healthy work by democratic institutions, competence, and personal responsibility by cadres at all levels. We will act in this direction.

Here we see an important platform of activity for the ZSL, our cadres and aktivs, and the activists who fulfill social and professional functions for the ZSL. We consider this a major platform of coalitional joint activity.

The problems of the countryside and agriculture are an integral part of our economy and a fundamental component of the state's overall condition. Healthy agriculture means a healthy economy and a strong state. It is still difficult for this obvious truth to get through to various structures in our state. Agriculture and the food economy are joint factors determining the level of national well-being. The countryside always takes time to respond to various phenomena, difficulties, and strains, but then it carefully considers and analyzes them. All faulty relationships between prices and incomes and inflationary processes negate the difficult progress that has been made in agriculture and the entire economy. Supply problems, marketplace difficulties, and a lack of stability have a strong impact on the production of food, which affects the entire nation. After all, this is a network of

vessels that join up to form the national bloodstream. It is a common interest of the workers class, the peasant class, and the inhabitants of both town and country. The ZSL has spoken on this issue on more than one occasion and has formulated concrete solutions. These things are stated clearly in the 10th congress resolutions.

We continue to speak out in favor of reform processes in the entire national economy. We believe that the basic principles underlying the reform of the economy are correct, but their implementation is not producing the desired results. There are many reasons for this, and we spoke about them in detail at the 10th ZSL Congress.

The basic goal of economic activities over the next few years should be an improvement in the consumer goods market that is felt by the public. The attainment of this goal calls for immediate action aimed at changing the structure of our economy. Slogans alone are no longer enough: What we need are quick decisions that will ensure the expansion of market-oriented and food production activity in our economy. This should be reflected in, above all, intensive activity geared toward increasing market supply and in the investment structure in the form of a clear curb on material-intensive investment for the expansion of heavy industry and the mining of coal, which is increasingly expensive, and other raw materials. This should also be reflected in concrete terms in the 2-year consolidation program that has been announced.

The restructuring of the economy should be accompanied by economic measures designed to create conditions that would encourage the expansion of market-, food- and export-oriented activity. All economic, organizational, and legal obstacles restricting individual initiative, enterprise, and production should be removed. The rapid elimination of bureaucratic and monopolistic obstacles to our development and to cooperation with other countries is an important condition for rapid progress. What this requires, first and foremost, is a review of all existing legal regulations and the removal of all those that are not needed. We have to rapidly draw up and introduce a new taxation system that will create uniform conditions for starting up enterprises and for all forms of ownership that will provide an incentive to those that expand output for the market and for export and will not, as has been the case until now, restrict their activity. This calls for immediate action.

Colleagues, we finally have to count on several basic issues in relation to the development of the economy. The ZSL has submitted a concrete program concerning this field on more than one occasion, the most recent one being the 10th congress. So far, government decisions and the implementation of the joint ZSL-PZPR agricultural policy have not reflected a fuller understanding of it. It also has to be stated with considerable concern that the current provisions of economic plans for the next few years also fail to reflect a greater understanding of the program, without saying anything about its implementation. Instead of increasing investment in agriculture, the food industry, and industries that cater to farming's need, there are plans to reduce it. We think that it is high time that we stopped allocating resources to industrial giants and diverted them to bolstering the food economy instead.

So, we state once again that the full implementation of the basic goals of the policy lie in the interests of all society, of all of us. In recent years, agriculture and the food economy have shown that they are capable of feeding the country and exporting foodstuffs.

The food industry and agriculture will not be able to modernize by their own efforts. This means that there is an urgent need to implement the joint political content of the material.

We have to ensure that the food industry and the industries supplying agriculture enjoy at least the same conditions as other sectors of the economy. This has not been the case until now, and this inequality is one important element delaying investment in the food economy and placing it at a disadvantage, in a more difficult situation. All this must be reflected in the 2-year plan for the consolidation of the economy and the nature of economic mechanisms contained in government economic policy and economic reform solutions.

So far, we have failed to fully solve the fundamental problem concerning the development of agriculture and food production. The problem is the way in which production inputs prices, foodstuff retail prices, and procurement prices are set. Agriculture always finds itself in a position in which it has to catch up with incomes in other sectors. Inflation hits agriculture hardest. The absence of appropriate ratios and consistency in determining these three pricing elements affects agriculture the worst. This particularly applies to sky-high prices for some production inputs for agriculture while official procurement prices for most agricultural products remain in force. This abnormal situation has to be finally dealt with in a resolute manner.

We think that trade unions representing workers and farmers should make a larger contribution to solving this problem. However, the key to an appropriate solution to this problem lies in the abandonment of rationing, subsidies, and official prices in all three forms. The situation that cannot be permitted to continue is one in which there is great freedom in setting prices for some agricultural production inputs, while strenuous efforts are made to keep retail prices of foodstuffs down, and official prices for basic agricultural products remain in force. The result is that consumers, as well as the countryside, lose out.

We urgently need a decentralization of the food market along with the abandonment of subsidies and a transition to free-market prices for foodstuffs. The creation of conditions for expanding initiative on the part of those

who want to do so, will create competition in the market for these products and, at the same time, will encourage the producer to increase output.

The last strikes and the most recent ones have caused tangible losses and pressure for higher wages in the socialized economy. In the light of this, we are moving further and further away from maintaining the incomes of people working in agriculture at at an appropriate level. The maintenance of the principle of parity and profitability with respect to agricultural production is becoming increasingly difficult to pursue, which, alongside problems connected with the supply of production inputs, poses the gravest threat to the development of agriculture and the expansion of food production. The ZSL has drawn attention to these basic problems on more than one occasion. In all the discussion that has taken place and the decisions that have been made, the ZSL has set out the matter in unambiguous terms, stating that these principles of joint agricultural policy must be maintained. This is as necessary for agriculture as it is for all working people in our country. This is something that must be determined by appropriately functioning economic mechanisms above all.

We cannot permit a deterioration in the state of the food market, one in which the countryside would react to the abnormal situation in the country by reducing the supply of agricultural products. This means that the basic, most pressing task is rapid action aimed at bringing about a normal situation in industry as quickly as possible, so that there is a real improvement in the supply of production inputs to the countryside and the necessary economic conditions for the expansion of agricultural production. All government actions should be aimed at achieving this: This is a basic condition and requirement for the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. The abnormal situation in industry has created an abnormal situation in agriculture, in the supply of food to the population. Bearing this in mind, all our cells, echelons, and members working in cooperatives, the state administration, and other organizations and institutions should play an active part in all short- and long-term undertakings that will improve the situation in the countryside and in the country as a whole.

Colleagues, at the end of the 10th ZSL Congress I said: "We can say that current political thinking in the PZPR and ZSL is being enriched by a new approach to the functioning of the party system in a changing political system. The ZSL has changed its position in the system of government. From a being a partner of the PZPR that bears joint responsibility for the situation in the countryside, the ZSL has become a partner that is responsible both individually and jointly for the nature of socialism in Poland and the nature of the socialist state. And it is with this kind of concern that our party will issues statements, implement policies, and affirm positions: It will do this in everyday practice, including activity in the international arena...."

We are especially aware of the validity of these statements in view of the present complicated issues of the nation and the state. The efforts and achievements of our coalition partners are identical with ours, as attested to by the materials of the Eighth PZPR Plenum, the SD resolutions, and the principles of the other signatories of the PRON declaration.

At this point I would like to praise the constructive position of the Polish Episcopate and of Jozef, Cardinal Glemp for their concern for our common good—for Poland.

We all have to fully exploit the Polish specific conditions and experience in order to consistently realize our reforms and socialist renewal, to build our strength with the help of national accord, to expand—on the principles of partnership—the proreform coalition forces in various structures of our state, to broaden the social base of decisionmaking and of shared responsibilities, and to strengthen our ties with our members.

Although ZSL-PZPR-SD coalition cooperation has passed its test of time under good and bad circumstances, although it continues to develop and is the foundation of our state, the potential of this cooperation has still not been fully exploited.

Openness of political allies, struggling through arguments about correct solutions, and joint efforts to choose solutions, some of which may be unpopular, by making joint decisions and taking joint responsibility—all this guarantees prompt responses and warnings with regard to various events.

This is bound to effect radical changes in the manner of government and in the functioning of our sociopolitical system and to eliminate sham activities and window-dressing practices at various levels of our life. This calls for changing and expanding the style of political activities and cooperation of the allied parties and for committing representatives of various sociopolitical groupings to developing and improving our socialist state.

Today it is no longer enough to pay lip service to the duty to respect partnership, joint decisionmaking, and joint responsibility in realizing all aspects of state policy. It is necessary to determine how the proportions of the partners' powers in the great Polish coalition in promoting Poland's greatness should be increased and realized.

The basic issue is to separate political from state power in practice and to make a real division in the competences and responsibilities of power, that is, to establish correct proportions between the political parties, on the one hand, and state and administrative power, on the other. This real division is the duty of political parties, and this kind of discharging one's powers at all levels in line with the law in force must be promoted. In this way the clarity and independence of decisions and personal responsibility will be strengthened, the service functions

of the political and state apparatus will be increased, and the practice of placing the apparatus over political, state, and economic institutions will be countered.

Such activities will also be based on the fact that the political parties will employ their prerogatives vis-a-vis representative bodies of power not directly, but through Sejm deputies and people's councillors, and will see that those bodies are above the executive bodies.

This applies fully to the decisionmaking process and its functioning. Following the ZSL congress resolutions, the ZSL Supreme Committee takes the view that, in line with the principles of the Constitution, the government and administration must become independent in decisionmaking and in taking responsibility for its results and must demonstrate their coalition character through their composition and performance. This means that one of the most urgent tasks facing us is to change the philosophy of government performance, that is, to decisively reject the bureaucratic style of administering people and things and to adopt the method of solving current problems by making decisions and by explaining to society why they have been made.

Much criticism of the government has recently accumulated in the public and our party ranks, and this is why we must counter this criticism with a clear and comprehensible program for activities, which are new and transparent, which encourage people to implement this program, and which produce results that are measured by tangible and practical achievements and not by the number of meetings held and decisions made.

At its session today, the Sejm Extraordinary Commission will evaluate the report on the government's performance in using its special powers. ZSL deputies of the Sejm are on this commission and will help to draw up various assessments to be presented to the September sitting of the Sejm, which will evaluate the government's performance and draw the necessary conclusions. The achievements of this plenum will be presented to the Sejm Extraordinary Commission and will be utilized by the ZSL Club of Sejm Deputies at the coming Sejm session.

Colleagues, we regard the strengthening and promoting of our allied and partnerlike cooperation with the PZPR and the SD, and the development of our coalition as one of the most important tasks of the ZSL and as an important factor in the system of government performance. We plan to devote one of the coming ZSL plenums to this issue.

Aside from promoting cooperation with the PZPR and the SD, the ZSL circles and committees should be bolder in offering to cooperate with youth unions, trade unions of the work forces in public-sector plants, social and vocational organizations of farmers, Christian associations, the many professional, cultural, and regional societies, and representatives of the opposition who support the PPR Constitution. These efforts will help to create conditions for social militancy, initiative, and enterprise.

However, we must also eliminate the weaknesses of our own activities, always view things in a critical and self-critical manner, and accelerate changes in the style and methods of party work at all levels of action. We must replace senseless verbosity and phoney feverish activities within the party with specific party initiatives. We must see how these initiatives are realized and ensure that those responsible for this realization present their accounts.

We must strengthen direct ties with ZSL circles and members, and this should be done by our prompt political response to various problems as they arise, by efforts to eliminate the barriers blocking our reforms, and by triggering social militancy and enterprising spirit.

Today it is no longer enough to merely observe and report on difficulties. Today it is necessary to solve problems where they arise and where it is possible to solve them.

The effectiveness of our efforts will be tested by the performance of the newly elected people's councils, the attitude and militancy of the people's councillors who are ZSL members, the style of the ZSL cells' work with the clubs [kluby] in the people's councils, self-government bodies, social and vocational organizations, agricultural circles, and in the cooperative movement.

We must realize our programmatic political goals and tasks with the help of our representatives in the government and self-government bodies. We instruct our representatives operating in the institutions of our state and in PRON to be constructive, bold, and responsible in exerting their influence on the nature of various solutions and initiatives, in intensifying the democratic processes of national accord, and in promoting reforms.

The recent events have shown the great importance of the militancy and genuineness of the performance of ZSL circles and cells and of the close ties with our members—the peasants in the rural areas. These are the special virtues of political activities.

However, we can see that people in rural areas continue to become increasingly impatient and anxious. They have many anxieties, and one of them is whether it is possible under the present conditions to realize the basic social, national, ideological, political, and economic interests of the peasant class and all inhabitants in rural areas.

Our deliberations and the conclusions we have reached here should be of good service in our efforts to eliminate those anxieties, to mobilize our entire party, and to consistently realize the 10th ZSL Congress resolutions.

### Rakowski Speaks in Bydgoszcz on 'Propaganda'

*LD1009203688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Excerpts] Wojciech Sobocinski reports from Bydgoszcz on the Party voivodship committee plenum. [passage omitted]

[Sobocinski] I spoke with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Politburo member and party Central Committee secretary.

[Begin Rakowski recording] I do not share all the opinions and assessments on the subject of propaganda expressed here today. I think that propaganda, if we are talking now about the mass media, then quite considerable progress has taken place in Poland in the last few years. It must also be remembered that good propaganda is dependent, to a large degree, on the situation in which it is operating. That means, if there is a good economic situation, then the propaganda will also be good and convincing. [Word indistinct] a world of satisfied people cannot be created using words alone. Certain facts must also exist. [end recording]

### Jaruzelski Addresses Harvest Festival

*LD1109140088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1212 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the annual harvest festival held near Pleszew, Kalisz voivodship—live]

[Text] I sincerely thank you for your hospitality at the harvest festival, for these beautiful garlands, for this patriotic, colorful spectacle that has moved all of us, that bears witness to a great aesthetic feeling of love for the paternal culture. I also wish to give sincere congratulations to the inhabitants of the Kalisz region, above all its farmers, on account of the high results attained in the past agricultural year. I particularly thank the inhabitants of the parish of Pleszew for the sincerity that you are showing us.

Farming, husbandry, is the oldest occupation of man, this is the basis of our civilization. This is the closest tie of man with nature. The harvest festivals, too, are an exceptionally old tradition, known across the whole world in various forms and permutations. But we are proud of the fact that in Poland it has an especially ceremonial character, is especially important, beautiful, patriotic, that irrespective of the fact that its heroes are farmers it is becoming a nationwide holiday, a special day for workers, the intelligentsia, all working people.

The past agricultural year was not the best, but it was not bad. Poland will not go hungry. This is the result of the hard work of the Polish farmer, who does not know what the concept of a shut-down is, even when he waits, when he demands better conditions for his work, for the fruits of his work. He knows that he cannot stop working. We want to sincerely thank you for such a stance. It is a model of civic, patriotic behavior. We also want to sincerely thank all those who contributed to the results of Polish agriculture, to the harvest that we today gather; the workers, engineers, technicians of industries producing for agriculture, the workers of the agricultural and food processing industry, the rural intelligentsia, teachers, doctors, activists of self-managements, people's councils, the cooperative movement, parish administrative offices. I also direct these words to my comrades-in-arms, soldiers who helped you during the agricultural year.

This year is ending but we are entering the next. The point is for it to be better, for it to serve the whole country, for it to be a model for national accord, for strengthening those efforts that will make our fatherland richer, happier, better. We all wish for this.

I also sincerely wish you the following: on behalf of the supreme political and state authorities, I once more sincerely give thanks for this year's harvest. I wish you much success, much happiness, much success. Long live Polish farmers! Long live all conscientiously working people! Long live Poland!

### Ciosek Defends State Policies to Students

*AU1708133588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Aug 88 p 2*

[Andrzej Miklaszewicz report: "Stanislaw Ciosek Visits the '21st-Century-Vanguard' Camp—What Is Most Important"]

[Text] Both sides accused each other of demagogy. Ziemowit Kuzaka, a pupil of a secondary school in Biala Podlaska, described the answer to the first question as demagogy and dodging the issue. "I will pay you back with the same coin," Politburo candidate member Stanislaw Ciosek retorted, "because your argument is useless."

The "21st-Century-Vanguard" summer camp has been organized by the ZSMP in the woods of Bialka near Parczew, Biala Podlaska Voivodship, for outstanding students, who can use minicomputers and video equipment.

At the end of Ciosek's meeting, the campers began asking him the questions they considered most important—questions about the pollution threat to the Bieszczady hills from the Igloopol combine and about the fact that the head manager of Igloopol is also the vice minister of agriculture.

But the first question was about the continued ban on Solidarity's return to the country's legal structures.

I am in favor of pluralism, if it promotes public good, Ciosek declared. What does this mean? It means that we have to first produce the cake before we can share it. Production is that element of community life which must not be disrupted and disorganized. That is why

political and social pluralism such as freedom to associate is one thing and the political struggle in production plants is another thing. In the Western countries (Ciosek cited the United States and the FRG) democracy ends at the gates of production plants. Beyond the gates there is only production.

You could put it another way. The most recent production conflicts was the strike in the Rudna mine and it lasted 30 minutes. This meant a considerable loss of production, but what would this strike become if Rudna had a second—a rival—trade union?

It was precisely at this point that Kuzaka declared passionately: This is demagogy and dodging the issue. Things look different when you view them from the sidelines. After all it was not workers who began politicking while working their machine tools. Why did you not want to listen to the other side, which was perhaps right?

[Presumably Ciosek] Did we not talk with Solidarity? But it was decidedly against the government proposals to examine necessary measures to repair the economy. Solidarity did not want to enter into any partnership in the dual system of power that existed at that time. Perhaps it did not want that partnership because it actually had no economic program.

It is only now, some years later, that representatives of the opposition are beginning to realize that the government program is not so bad.

Why is it then that we reached the present state of the country's economic development? I think that this question faithfully summarizes two remarks made from the floor. The first remark was made by Ziemowit Kuzaka about workers who earn just enough to keep their bodies and souls together, and the second was made by Janusz Dziedzic, instructor in the Youth Cultural Agency in Biala Podlaska, that our Constitution guarantees us the right to work, but that now work is unnecessary. [presumably end of Ciosek]

The first remark was extremely tricky and emotional. (Ciosek: "Let me pay with the same coin—demagogy") However, the crux of the matter is that work is nothing abstract, it must produce tangible and positive results for the community.

But this is not so. Ciosek cited data showing how large segments of workers are unproductive and said that many workers should be transferred to the plants in which their work will be productive and that useless plants should be closed down.

But how should that be done? By order? People often say: "Let the government act to put things right." But decrees are not enough to overcome public resistance. It is necessary to talk with people and to convince them that there is no other way. However, it is difficult to convince those people who have to accept changes.

During his discussion with young people from Biala Podlaska, Ciosek conceded that, as he said, "he suffered a certain personal defeat:"

As minister of labor I cooperated in devising wage systems in plants, which should have expressed the following principle: Pay as much as you want to as long as you have money that is not produced by artificial price hikes. That concept came to naught, because workers began disputing the fact that a locksmith in one plant could earn more money than the same locksmith in another plant. The present system provides only for differences between branches of industry.

The thesis about social—that is, grassroots—determining factors of the reform was not accepted at all too easily. Dariusz Zawadzki, a recent economics graduate, interrupted: The bad quality of our laws and continuous changes made in them constitute the additional costs of the reform, but grassroots are not at all to blame for these costs.

Ciosek: The process of law making in Britain can take as many as 5 years. Before a law is finally drafted, very wearisome and complicated hypotheses have to be tested. We are extremely short of time, and our laws take just a few months to be formulated. But what is it better to do: To wait for new perfect laws and mark time or to make regulations that we know in advance will have to be modified? I think that the second alternative is better. At present we are working on the law on enterprises at great speed because of public pressure. It is a foregone conclusion that this law will have to be modified within a year, only because we have too little time to relate it to other laws it closely affects.

The most important issue that determines the future lines and speed of the country's development is the issue of choosing what we regard as most important at a given moment.

The tangled interests and convictions also include the issue of the protection of the natural environment. Many people view the issue of the death of nature and, consequently, of man as a sham and abstract issue, one of no import in comparison with, say, the shortage of housing.

Let us do something before it is too late, Anna Kochanska from a secondary school in Miedzyrzec Podlaski cried out. When it is too late, will we eat money, concrete, and asphalt?! If the majority is wrong, we must not give in to its demands.

Someone retorted: In order to honor this advice we would have to have an infallible person in the government to determine what is right and what is wrong.

What remains is the drama of choice to be made by the people themselves. This is a drama and a tough lesson in democracy.

This was a discussion about the impossibility of certain tasks and about contradictions that may paralyze action, Ciosek said in conclusion.

Campers agreed with that without hesitation.

### Planning Official Speaks on Financing Imports

*LD1608212488 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 16 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 16—Methods of financing Polish central imports will change next year, Deputy Chairman of the Government Planning Commission Stanislaw Gebala told newsmen here today.

The country's minister of agriculture, forestry, and food economy will command a foreign currency fund which is now being formed out of 5 percent of revenues generated by exports to hard currency countries diminished by sums going to enterprises as hard currency write-offs. These means will be used mainly for the promotion of advanced plant and animal production technologies, development of processing and storing facilities, etc.

Another foreign currency fund will be set up for the milk industry out of 60 per cent of its incomes earned by exports to convertible currency markets. This will increase this industry's hard currency reserves from 15 million dollars this year to 60 million dollars.

Meanwhile, the list of goods to be imported from the dollar zone countries in 1989 has been closed with 26 most sensitive, centrally financed items (44 this year) and 33 items to be financed with currencies obtained at auctions, that is those bought by producers. For this purpose 890 million dollars (500 million this year) were allocated. Referring to the process of taking over enterprises by people's councils, which goes on since last March, and to the division, fusion, or liquidation of enterprises, Gebala said that ministers and voivods (governors) had reached agreement on the takeover as proprietors (parent institutions) of 232 enterprises.

Poland's prime minister used his new powers and decided to subdue 101 enterprises to people's councils. Further decisions of the inter-ministry team headed by Gebala are expected in September. Voivods are expected to become proprietors of about 3,500 enterprises by the end of this year (they were proprietors of 2,650 enterprises in the end of the last year) out of Poland's all 6,900 enterprises.

As another development, the prime minister so far has ordered the division of 61 enterprises, merger of 3, and liquidation of 27 because of poor economic performance, obsolete assets, or running redundant mediation.

Gebala also said that the list of government orders drafted for 1989 covers 108 items against 14 this year, all worth about one billion zlotys, that is, 41 per cent less than this year. The number of such orders in food economy grew from 18 to 21 and means to buy medicines grew 26 per cent. Meanwhile, the amount of hard currency to be used for Western imports of supplies for the enterprises involved in government orders is expected to go up to 713.5 million dollars against 646 million this year, Gebala said.

### Glemp Gives Sermon on Country's Situation

*AU3108135288 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Aug 88 p 2*

[Sermon delivered by Jozef, Cardinal Glemp at the 26 August Jasna Gora Feast Day of Our Lady of Czestochowa]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We all know that we in our fatherland live in acute divisions. On the one hand, ours is a community which is rather passive as a whole, but in which active opposition is breaking through. On the other hand, we have authorities who assume responsibility for the nation's political and economic fate. There are more of such divisions because we regard ourselves as a pluralistic society. However, there is an acute conflict in that aforementioned division.

Insofar as the Polish nation is concerned, the Catholic Church does not identify itself with any political faction. While spreading the gospel of unity and love, the church has its eye on the prospects of the nation as a whole and on the prospects of the state. That is why those painful rifts and the manner of the conflict fill all those in the church, especially bishops and priests, with tremendous pain and worry. This is because everyone knows that work stoppages in a poor country help to intensify poverty. However, this is not the only thing: Foreign countries will begin to disdain poor partners and will try to exploit them still further. Moreover, there is something else that is even more painful: A division is forming between workers who are on strike and those who are not. Workers on strike are convinced that they are fighting for a good cause, but the thing is that later on they may be regarded as those who are responsible for the country's losses. It is our utmost wish that what is regarded as a good, noble cause does not become a source of bitterness!

We all know that what our country needs most of all is order, peace, and a rapprochement between the two sides in the conflict. The experience of conflicts in history tells us that in order to ease a conflict it is necessary, first, to cool down emotions and to lessen obstinacy and, instead of repeating slogans, to start looking for reasons why the two sides behave as they do! Second, it is necessary for both the authorities and the workers to relinquish pretensions, to abandon the pose of the offended, and to humbly realize that the entire fatherland and not only a single social group needs to be served. Third, one must

not insist on conditions that either make dialogue impossible or are themselves impossible to meet at a given moment. In a word, it is necessary to place oneself in the situation of the other side in the conflict. This was how diocesan bishops stated their position yesterday, when they said in their message that it is always necessary for the governing and for the governed to respect one another's rights and duties.

The governing should fully realize in what difficult conditions the world of labor lives. Workers are patient, but what pains them most is the waste occurring in plants. It is incompetent economic management and bureaucracy, which hinder progress, that make people's work ineffective. It is not only structures that are responsible for waste. It is also irresponsible people who place their own good above public good! It is the people who do not disdain alcohol, unfortunately. The lack of time prevents me from listing other hardships of the working people.

However, if the workers' protest is to be successful, it is necessary to assess the potential of the other side when conditions are posed to it. No matter what government there is, it is always able to print more and more paper money, but it will never be able to print milk, meat, and bread, because these goods have to be produced by manual labor. No matter what government there is, if the country has debts, it has to service them, at least by payments of interest. However, the interest that we have to pay on our debts runs into billions and billions of dollars. The government will not pay this interest out of its own pocket: It has to get that money from our poor country—from precisely the toil of our workers. Such is our reality and such is the truth, which affects not only a group of society, but the entire nation as well.

Dearest brothers and sisters! Let us view our fatherland in its entirety and let us view it with love as the Gospel bids us. Let us look forward to the future when the strikes are over. Let there be no persecution [przesladowanie] of those who have managed to make a protest in line with their visions! We have to live and stay in this fatherland of ours and to make our way of life consistent with the principles of justice and of respect for every man's dignity. Is this possible? Yes, it is! It is possible through a consistent and even stubborn dialogue. We must make ourselves believe in our wisdom and not merely in our staying powers in suffering. This wisdom must originate with ourselves and not with instigations from other people!

We must humbly look at those of us who are on both sides of the conflict and we must tell ourselves: We have erred and sinned and we have been too lax in observing ethical, moral, and national principles. Looking at our weaknesses, we can be all the more hopeful, especially here before the image of our Virgin Mary at Jasna Gora. [passage omitted]

### Pope Addresses Pilgrims at Castelgandolfo, Italy

*AU3008115888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 88 p 7*

[PAP report: "The Pope on Polish Affairs"]

[Text] Rome—On Friday, on the feast of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Pope John Paul II celebrated mass for 1,500 Polish pilgrims at Castelgandolfo, his summer residence outside Rome.

He said a short prayer, and then, referring to the historical path of the Polish people, said that this path has not been easy, especially in the past few centuries. Our own weaknesses and faults and the social sins of entire generations and states contributed to this, said the pope.

As a society, continued John Paul II, we wish to live our own lives and develop along the path of social progress, not retreat. We know that a state is truly sovereign only when it is based on a sovereignty of society and of the people, who create the proper conditions for this sovereignty.

## Cardinal Glemp Makes 2d 1988 Visit to USSR

### Departs for Belorussia Talks

*LD0509134988 Warsaw PAP in English 1210 GMT 5 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp today left for Belorussia at the invitation of Metropolitan of Minsk and Belorussia Filaret.

Glemp will visit Grodno, Lida, Novogrodek, Niesvyez, Minsk and Pinsk. This is the second visit of Poland's primate to the Soviet Union this year. In June the primate took part in ceremonies marking the millennium of Russia's christening held in Moscow and Kiev.

The primate will visit Catholic communities. He will also meet with Metropolitan Filaret who heads the department for contacts with other churches at the Moscow Patriarchate.

### Cardinal Glemp 'Warmly Treated'

*LD0809101288 Warsaw PAP in English 2337 GMT 7 Sep 88*

[Text] Biala Podlaska, Sept. 7—Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp ended his visit to Belorussia and returned to Poland in the evening hours today.

At the border crossing in Terespol, Glemp told PAP:

It is too early to sum up the visit, but I think that a new chapter has opened. I am very glad that the role of the church could be marked in this new chapter, which

already lasts as a renewal. I think that this is an important field, especially in light of the fact that the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union is an element gaining momentum and supporting that what represents the renewal.

In this context I paid my pastoral visit which was very warmly greeted by Soviet authorities, with great hospitality and great confidences. There was no obstacle which would hold back people. On the contrary, huge crowds of the faithful of both beliefs attended services, prayers, listened to my sermons. Personally, I am very satisfied, while Orthodox clergy expressed words of appreciation. Words of recognition for a pastoral visit of this kind were expressed by Soviet authorities.

### Israel's Sharon in Warsaw Sees 'New Era' in Ties

*TA0709095888 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 7 Sep 88 p 13*

[Excerpt] "I am certain that we are on the verge of a new era in our economic and commercial relations with Poland in particular and with the Socialist bloc in general," Industry and Trade Minister Ari'el Sharon said in Warsaw yesterday.

A total blackout has been imposed on Sharon's meetings and the issues raised in them. Sharon would only say: "I felt a warm and sympathetic attitude on the part of my Polish interlocutors. I encountered sincere good will for genuine economic cooperation between the two countries."

Uri Dan, a journalist in Minister Sharon's entourage, pointed out that nothing could be said, either, about the talks Sharon is scheduled to hold today in the Polish capital. [passage omitted]

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 0500 GMT on 7 September reports that "Industry and Trade Minister Ari'el Sharon conferred with the Polish minister of agriculture in Warsaw yesterday. This morning he will meet with the minister for foreign economic cooperation. Our political correspondent 'Oded Ben-'Ami reports that in his talks Minister Sharon is seeking to promote trade between the two countries."]

### Israeli Bankers Received at Finance Ministry

*LD0909041688 Warsaw PAP in English 1613 GMT 8 Sep 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 8—Following an invitation from the president of the board of the Foreign Currency Savings Bank, representatives of Israeli leading banks with Director of the Union of Banks A. Halperin visited Poland.

The Israeli bankers held talks with the management of the Narodowy Bank Polski (National Bank of Poland) and Polish hard currency banks. They also met with officials of the Finance Ministry, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and the Polish chamber of Foreign Trade.

The sides discussed possibilities for development of economic and financial relations between banks and firms of the two countries.

### 'Rapprochement' Cited on Bay of Pomerania Talks

*LD3108230588 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 31 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 31—In the course of talks that Poland's and GDR's experts held concernig the Bay of Pomerania since last June's Jaruzelski-Honecker meeting, a rapprochement of stands was achieved and formulation of a framework for the prospective comprehensive settlement was commenced, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told PAP when interrogated on the issue in connection with the current situation at the Szczecin port and numerous outcries of alarm among the population of Western Pomerania.

Both leaders had instructed respective foreign ministers to step up the rate of negotiations and to prepare an appropriate agreement between the two states. Since that meeting experts of both sides held meetings in Warsaw and in Berlin during which they exchanged opinions on all the issues related to delimitation of marine territories, location of open sections of the Poland-GDR sea border, location of the approach water lanes for vessels entering the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex and to other problems of cooperation between the two states in marine economy in the area. Both sides display a constructive attitude in the talks, the spokesman said.

During the Jaruszelski-Honecker meeting, it had been resolved that the agreement on the specific issue of delimitation between the marine territories should be based upon the principle of free and unrestricted access of the Szczecin and Swinoujscie ports to open sea. It implies that routes of approach to these ports will pass across Polish territorial waters and across open sea.

Of significant weight to the constructive climate of the talks is the fact that ships sail along present approach water lanes to the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie without any incidents or hindrances. The only reason for current disturbance in the operation of the Szczecin port is the persisting strike of part of the port's crew.

### Officials Reportedly Repress Hungarian Refugees

*LD1209173688 Vatican City International Service in German 1400 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Koenigstein: According to the relief organization Kirche in Not, the flow of refugees from Romania to Hungary is gradually decreasing. The reason for this is the growing brutality of the Romanian officials with regard to the refugees. Kirche in Not today reports a particularly cruel case: 11 schoolgirls who had been refused university entrance were raped and whipped by border guards while fleeing. Only when they reached the hospital did the crime emerge. Outraged citizens had attempted in vain to stone the policemen.

### Oancea Addresses Nonaligned Conference

*AU1009182588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Tex] Nicosia, AGERPRES 10/9/1988—Addressing the plenum of the ministerial conference of the nonaligned counties in Nicosia, the Romanian chief delegate Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, conveyed the participants a cordial salute from President Nicolae Ceausescu.

He went on to set forth Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's positions and considerations on problems examined by the conference, and showed that Romania considered that the the fundamental problem of the current epoch was a resolute passage to disarmament, nuclear above all, the elimination of the war danger. Romania, he said, maintained that action should be taken to achieve a complex disarmament programme, which should lead to a total and definitive ban on nuclear arms, the halting of nuclear tests and space militarization. Romania also is for the withdrawal of troops within national frontiers, the adoption of measures to build confidence and security, to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace and collaboration, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign troops and military bases. Given the complex international situation, the speaker showed, Romania believes that a new thinking and action are required in the international life as well as a new approach to states of conflict.

It was stressed that Romania was firmly for the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue and welcomed the current negotiations, which should provide for the attainment of the Cypriot people's aspirations at unity and independence. Taking into account the decisive role of peoples in the elimination of sources of tension in the interstate links, Romania proposed that an item be included in the agenda of UN General Assembly session underscoring the need to combat the political circles which promote racism, apartheid, nationalism, chauvinistic and revanchist manifestations.

Referring to the world economic situation—the speaker emphasized that Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu were of the opinion that dialogue should be resumed for a global approach to economic issues, including underdevelopment-related issues and the foreign debt, with a view to setting the international economic relations on new, democratic bases.

Romania's wish and resolve were expressed to work for the manifold development of its economic cooperation and trade exchanges with nonaligned countries, with other developing countries, on mutually advantageous terms.

### Oancea Received by Cypriot President

*AU1009131888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1227 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] Nicosia, AGERPRES 10/9/1988—President Yeoryios Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus received Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who attended the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference in Nicosia. On the occasion, an exchange of warm messages was made between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and President Yeoryios Vasiliou. The president of Cyprus assessed highly the demarches and initiatives of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the major issues of international life and expressed gratitude for the constant and active support granted by the Romanian leader to the Cypriot people's struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial unity and integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, to its non-aligned status, to the cause of international peace and security.

The wish to develop and diversify the bilateral Romanian-Cypriot relations was expressed.

## Further on Ceausescu Visit to African Countries

### Communique on Kenyan Meeting

*AU1209195888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Sep 88 p 5*

["Joint Communique" issued at the end of President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Kenya, on 7 September 1988 in Nairobi]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official friendship visit to the Republic of Kenya between 5-7 September 1988, at the invitation of the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Teroitich arap Moi.

This visit, in return for the official friendship visit paid by the president of the Republic of Kenya to the SR of Romania in September 1987, gave the two heads of state a new opportunity to renew and strengthen the cordial ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were welcomed in a warm and fraternal manner by Daniel Teroitich arap Moi,

president of the Republic of Kenya, by the members of the government, the leaders of the Kenya African National Union [KANU] Party, the Parliament, and by the whole Kenyan nation, as an expression of the feelings of friendship that the peoples of the two countries nurture for each other.

The distinguished guests visited socioeconomic projects and learned with interest about the achievements recorded by the Kenyan people on the road to their development.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu held official talks with the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Teroitich arap Moi, in a cordial atmosphere of understanding; during the talks the sides briefed each other on their current concerns regarding the socioeconomic development of their countries and thoroughly examined ways to further develop the Romanian-Kenyan relations of friendship and cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural fields. Likewise, they exchanged views on some current international issues.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi expressed their profound satisfaction with the development of Romanian-Kenyan relations of friendship and cooperation, based on the understandings reached in September 1987 in Bucharest, and emphasized the importance they devote to the strict observance of the principles of independence and national sovereignty, full equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and the inalienable right of each nation to independently decide on its developmental path, without any outside interference.

During the talks, the sides stressed the particular importance of the Romanian-Kenyan summit meetings and reaffirmed their joint wish to act further in order to continuously expand and develop Romanian-Kenyan relations in the political, economic, scientific, and technical areas.

Particular attention was devoted to bilateral economic relations. The sides stressed the need to continuously increase commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, on equitable bases and in accordance with the program of accord on long-term development of economic and technological cooperation and commercial exchanges, which was signed on 9 September 1987 in Bucharest. Likewise, the sides reaffirmed their determination to conclude the negotiations on implementing the economic objectives agreed upon in the protocol of the first session of the Romanian-Kenyan Joint Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, held on 16 January 1988. The sides agreed that the ministries and the other economic bodies in the two countries should increase their efforts with a view to speeding up the implementation of these objectives.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Kenya decided to expand bilateral ties and meetings at government, parliamentary, and party levels with a view to strengthening relations of friendship between the two countries.

Examining the international political and economic situation, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi noted with satisfaction their identical or very close viewpoints on the major problems confronting mankind.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Kenya noted that the international situation continues to be serious and complex as a result of the continuation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, of the persistence of conflicts in various parts our planet, of the worsening world economic situation, particularly the situation of developing countries, and as a result of the continuation of a policy of force and threat of force, interference in domestic affairs, and violation of the independence and freedom of some countries.

The leaders of the two countries noted that the fundamental issue of our times is to halt the arms race and to resolutely proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to substantially reduce weapons and troops, and to ensure the vital right of each nation and of the whole of mankind to existence, freedom, and independence.

Mentioning that some steps have been made toward disarmament through the agreement concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi noted that a radical change in eliminating nuclear and other mass destruction weapons still has not been achieved.

The presidents of the two countries stressed that the international community should intensify efforts to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

The two country leaders reiterated their call for the peaceful use of outer space and requested the states involved to conclude an accord which would prohibit the militarization of outer space.

Examining the situation in Africa, the president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Kenya emphasized with satisfaction the achievements of the African people in their struggle for freedom and national independence, and for their socioeconomic development. Likewise, the sides reaffirmed their support for the heroic struggle waged by the people in South Africa against the regime of racial discrimination for an

immediate end to the state of emergency, for the liberation of all political prisoners, and for the adoption of comprehensive and compulsory sanctions—by the international community—to help abolish the anachronistic apartheid system.

The two state leaders reaffirmed the decisive support for and the solidarity of their countries with the Namibian people's struggle for Namibia's independence—under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization, their sole legitimate representative—and spoke out for the immediate and unconditioned granting of Namibia's independence, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution No 435/1978.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi reaffirmed their support for the political settlement of conflicts in other regions in Africa.

As regards the serious situation in the Middle East, the two state leaders called for overall, just, and lasting solutions to the problems of this region, through negotiations, which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories that were occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, and to the finding of solutions to the Palestinian people's problems by acknowledging their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state, by ensuring the integrity, sovereignty, and security of all the countries in that region. The sides noted the importance of organizing a UN-sponsored international conference on Middle East problems, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, Israel, and the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The president of Romania and the president of Kenya hailed the cease-fire accord between Iran and Iraq, stressing the need for the strict implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 598 in order to ensure stability, security, and peace in this entire region. Likewise, the sides stressed the need for the withdrawal of all foreign military vessels from the Gulf and for ensuring free navigation in this region.

Referring to the current complex international economic situation, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi spoke out for overall solutions to the problems of underdevelopment and for the establishment of a new international economic order, based on full equality and equity among states. In this context, the leaders of the two countries support the organization of a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation on an equal footing of developing and developed countries, in order to reach mutually acceptable solutions, to the issue of foreign debt as well, which seriously affects developing countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi believe that all countries, regardless of their size, should participate in seeking solutions to complex international problems.

The Romanian president and the Kenyan president believe that the United Nations and the other international bodies should increase their role in the international arena and they agreed to intensify cooperation between the two countries within the international fora.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Kenya expressed their complete satisfaction with the new Romanian-Kenyan summit meeting and with the agreements they reached, and they believe that these agreements make a valuable contribution to developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, for the benefit of the Romanian and Kenyan peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, progress, and cooperation throughout the world.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, expressed heartfelt thanks to the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Teroitich arap Moi, for the friendly welcome and the outstanding hospitality extended to him during the official friendship visit he paid to the Republic of Kenya.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, extended an invitation to the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Teroitich arap Moi, to pay an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure; the date of the visit will be established through diplomatic channels.

Nairobi, 7 September 1988.

## Economic Agreement Signed

*AU0809155888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1552 GMT 8 Sep 88*

[Text] Dar es Salaam, AGERPRES, 8/9/1988—In accordance with the understanding reached between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a general agreement was signed on economic and technical cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The document was signed by Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei and Tanzanian Minister of Justice D. Lubuva.

## Western Australian Premier Meets Ceausescu

*AU1009171488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/9/1988—On September 10 President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Peter Dowding, premier of Western Australia, who paid a visit to Romania.

The guest thanked for having been received, for the possibility of meeting again and exchanging opinions with President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the talk, emphasis was placed on the fine relations between Romania and Australia, which have been developing steadily, on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual advantage.

Recalling the official visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid to Western Australia this year the guest considered it to have gone down as a significant moment in the strengthening of Romanian-Australian cooperation.

The Romanian head of state showed the fine links between Romanian enterprises and Australian companies to be a conclusive example of the special role of economic cooperation in better knowledge and rapprochement between peoples, in the promotion of international understanding and collaboration.

The wish was expressed to further work for the expansion and diversification of relations between Romania and Western Australia, for the implementation of the understandings reached.

### Meets With Andrei, Ungur

*AU1009171588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1546 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/9/1988—On September 10, Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, met with Peter Dowding, premier of the state of Western Australia, who paid a visit to Romania.

In the spirit of the understandings reached during the Romanian-Australian summit dialogue, an analysis was made of the current stage and prospects of bilateral economic relations, of possibilities of developing collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Western Australia in areas of mutual interest, of expanding and diversifying mutual commodity exchanges.

The Australian premier also met Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

### Ceausescu Greets Bulgaria's Zhivkov on Birthday

*AU0909093288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 88 p 3*

[Telegram by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the latter's birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, on your birthday, I take particular pleasure in extending to you warm and friendly greetings, most cordial congratulations, and heartfelt wishes for personal health and happiness and for new successes in your activity devoted to implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, building the developed socialist society in Bulgaria, and ensuring the well-being and prosperity of the neighboring and friendly Bulgarian people.

I express the conviction that the good relations between our parties and countries will further develop and expand, for the benefit of our nations and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, cooperation, security, and peace in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

### Ceausescu Message Marks Libyan Holiday

*AU0809094588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 88 p 5*

[President Nicolae Ceausescu message to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi "On the National Holiday of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah"]

[Text] To Mr Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution, Tripoli:

The 19th anniversary of the Great 1 September Revolution affords me the pleasant opportunity to extend warm congratulations to you, as well as best wishes for good health and personal happiness, and wishes for well-being, progress, and peace to the friendly Libyan people.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will develop in the interests of the Romanian and Libyan peoples and in the interest of the general cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

### Minister Ungur Received by SFRY's Dizdarevic

*AU1209181388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, AGERPRES, 12/09/1988—The president of the Collective Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Raif Dizdarevic, received in Belgrade the Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Ioan Ungur. On the occasion messages were exchanged between the RCP general secretary, Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Collective Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia.

In that framework, emphasis was placed on the importance of the multi-faceted collaboration between the two countries, in the economic field in particular, which is in full development in keeping with the summit understandings.

## Romanian-GDR Youth Meeting Concludes

*AU1009170588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1626 GMT 10 Sep 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/9/1988—The friendly meeting of youth representatives of Romania and the GDR came to an end on 10 September. Held over September 6-10, the meeting made an active contribution to the deepening of the friendly and cooperative links between the youths in the two countries, opening new prospects to the continuous amplification and diversification of the relationships of close collaboration between the Union of Communist Youth and the Free German Youth.

During the meeting, opinions and experience were exchanged on the how the youth, their revolutionary organizations take part in the implementation of the policy of their parties and countries of socialist construction and promotion of peace and international understanding. Stress was laid on the ascending evolution of the friendly and cooperative links between the Romanian youth and the GDR youth, the UCY and the FGY, based on the links of close collaboration on multiple planes between the RCP and the SUPG, between the two peoples and countries, in the spirit of the accords between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker.

During the meeting, a bilateral seminar was held in Costinesti and a pictorial show opened featuring the life and activity of the GDR youth.

The delegation of the GDR youth visited economic, social and cultural units and met with youths and UCY cadres from Bucharest city and Constanta County.

During the visit, the heads of the delegation of the Free German Youth of the GDR were received by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

### Mikulic Discusses 1943 Bujan Resolution

*LD1209225488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1919 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, September 12 (TANJUG)—The theses contained in the Bujan Resolution on the alleged wish of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo that the region be annexed to Albania have neither had nor can they have any legal bearing on Yugoslavia's internal or foreign political relations or its sovereignty and integrity, the Yugoslav Government, presided over by Premier Branko Mikulic, assessed today.

At the session, the government noted that the decisions of the conference held in a small Albanian town of Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, were rejected already in July of the following year when representatives of all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo unanimously decided, at a session of the region parliament, that Kosovo be an integral part of Yugoslavia, i.e., of its Republic of Serbia.

According to the Yugoslav Government, the stand of the Bujan conference is contrary to decisions adopted (?by) the anti-fascist council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (the Yugoslav war government) at its second session in November 1943, which laid the foundation of new Yugoslavia, as well as to provisions of the 1926 international (?agreement) on the Yugoslav-Albanian border.

Mikulic's cabinet recalled that foreign nationals had participated in the adoption of the Bujan resolution.

The government will submit its stands to the Federal Parliament for adoption.

### Slovenian SAWP Delegation Visits Kosovo

*LD0809084388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 7 Sep 88*

[Text] Pristina, September 7 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Socialist Alliance organisations of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo support party stands on detrimental effects of protest rallies staged by Serbs and Montenegrins as "rallies on the basis of national division do not contribute to settling the Kosovo drama caused by years of Albanian chauvinists and separatists' activity", it was stated today in Pristina where the delegations of the two organisations had talks.

A group of some forty Slovenian journalists, sociologists and economists, also arrived in Pristina in order to be informed in talks with representatives of the provincial and local political bodies, as well as residents of several places in the province, on the situation in Kosovo where the Albanian chauvinists and separatists have lately intensified their activities. (Under the presure of Albanian separatists some 30,000 Serbs and Montengrins have migrated from Kosovo since 1981).

In the talks the two delegations stated close views on questions crucial to the social-economic development of Yugoslavia and its surmounting the economic crisis, it is stressed in a joint statement.

The current visit by the Slovenian delegation to Kosovo represents the response to the proposal of the organizers of Serbs' and Montenegrins' protest rallies that a rally of solidarity with the non-Albanian population in Kosovo terrorised by Albanian chauvinists be staged in Ljubljana, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia. Joze Smole, president of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, who heads the Slovenian delegation in Pristina, said that it is much better that the Slovenians go to Kosovo to see what the situation is really like than to have protest rallies staged in Slovenia.

### Pristina Radio Criticizes Serb Protest Council

*AU0809183188 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88*

[Text] As TANJUG reports, the Kosovo Polje Council for the Organization of Serbian and Montenegrins Gatherings decided today to organize rallies of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Jajce, Sarajevo, Sipovo, and other places in Bosnia and Hercegovina on 17 September.

We cannot avoid the question of how this self-appointed council of solidarity in Kosovo Polje has been allowed, without the slightest hindrance, to put itself forward, as it has now been doing for some time, as a force in opposition to the LCY and all the progressive forces of Tito's Yugoslavia, and to oppose with great stubbornness the clear decisions of the highest party forums for stopping these gatherings which do not contribute toward solving the problems of Kosovo. The aims of the council are clear, and we therefore hope that the LCY Central Committee, at its own meeting on 17 September, will analyze every issue connected with the protest gatherings that are being organized by this council in Kosovo Polje.

### Sarajevo Considers Kosovo Rallies 'Illegal'

*AU0909185388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] The decision of the Committee To Organize Protest Rallies of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to hold protest meeting in some Bosnia-Hercegovina towns on 17 September has caused reaction in Sarajevo. Ljubomir Nikolic reports:

The decision of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins Committee was received with surprise and amazement (?that) the committee can to such an extent ignore the feeling in Bosnia-Hercegovina of the great majority of the party membership and of the public at large. The feeling was best expressed by the session of the republican Central Committee the day before yesterday. (?The position of) this republic (?is that) single-nationality gatherings are unacceptable.

The people in authority in the republic wonder whether the plebiscite-like solidarity of the peoples and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, (?indignation at) their tragedy, and resolve to (?suppress) the counterrevolution and its consequences soonest and most energetically are not sufficient to the committee.

Does the committee not want to, or cannot, understand that such gatherings in Bosnia-Hercegovina could have unforeseeable consequences [words indistinct] of those people who do not care for peace and freedom of all the citizens of Yugoslavia? Although such people are few, in the electrified situation and atmosphere they could cause excesses with undesirable consequences.

There is no doubt that the social organization and appropriate organs in Bosnia-Hercegovina will adhere to the decisions of the republican Central Committee. Thus for instance, the SAWP will not be the host to Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in any commune of the republic. In case of need, (?local) organs will act on the basis of their powers under the law.

As of noon today, no organ in the republic has received official notification of such a gathering. Without such notification and possible approval, such gatherings will be considered illegal, just as the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins Committee is considered illegal here.

Because of all this, it is said in Sarajevo, the committee would act most wisely if it canceled the rallies in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

### Kosovars To Attend Protest Rally 15 Sep

*LD1109205888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The committee for the organization of protest meetings outside Kosovo, in its message to the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium and to the Jajce SAWP Municipal Conference Presidium, expresses its compliance with those leaderships' stands on the meeting in Jajce. It proposes to the Jajce SAWP Municipal Conference Presidium that it should receive a delegation of the organizational committee for talks so that, the message says, the situation that has arisen can be discussed. [passage omitted]

The committee for the organization of protest meetings also sent a message today to the Sremska Mitrovica SAWP which stresses that the 15 September meeting in that town will be attended also by citizens of Kosovo and Metohija in order to "provide strong support for progressive forces for the settlement of the situation in Kosovo". The message says that Dr Sreten Martinovic, a participant in the National Communities of the Pristina Municipal Assembly, will speak among others at that meeting on behalf of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

### 'Solidarity' Meeting Set for 16 Sep in Kosovo

*LD1109205788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Text] Gnjilane, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The recent assualts on girls from Partes in the Gnjilane secondary school center and on a Serb student from Gornje Kusce, committed by Albanian separatists, have upset and dismayed the inhabitants of Koretiste near Gnjilane. During their meeting last night they stressed that they will no longer put up with the present situation, which was said to be becoming intolerable. They asked the senior officials who had allowed this situation to occur to be made wholly accountable. In this context some cadres of Albanian nationality were singled out by name as were some Serb nationalists who had kept silent and whose opportunism played into the hands of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The initiative was launched for the return of the December Award which the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo had awarded to this local community. About 200 citizens decided to hold a solidarity meeting in Koretiste 16 September. A committee to prepare the meeting was formed and headed by the leaders of the local sociopolitical organizations.

### Slovene Socialist Alliance Discusses Kosovo

*LD1109222588 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Text] We can ensure a stable situation in Kosovo only through political wisdom and common sense by us all. The solution of Kosovo problems is not only a political question; it is primarily an economic and cultural question and a question requiring a civilized approach. At Jance near Ljubljana today this was stressed by Joze Smole, Socialist Alliance. Smole drew attention to the shortsightedness of those who are creating an anti-Albanian mood and added: Protagonists of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, is one thing and Albanian nationality is quite another. The Albanians are as vitally interested in full equality of the inhabitants in Kosovo as are the Serbs and Montenegrins. This is why it is not a good thing that at many meetings in Serbia the views of Albanians were also not heard.

In conclusion Joze Smole stressed that he believed that all those individuals and groups who did not have confidence in the leading cadres of Albanian nationality were doing a disservice to the Serbian people and to everyone in Yugoslavia.

### Commentary Calls for Adherence to LCY Stands

*AU1209142588 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Sep 88 p 5*

[G. Bajrami commentary: "A Time of Final Testing"]

[Text] No analysis of any kind is necessary to see that the LCY and its highest organs are working today under heavy pressure from certain social movements in the country. In

the economic and political fields, the crisis is deepening, and there are transparent signs of this crisis increasingly penetrating the LCY itself. Confusion, and the activity of forces opposing LCY policy, are continuing to escalate. Intranational relations are deteriorating to the extent that nationalism is blossoming in almost every part of the country. The growth of political confrontation is assuming disturbing proportions, and undemocratic methods of solving society's various problems are increasingly used. All these things are sapping confidence in the leading forces of society, in the LCY first of all, but also in the political system's other institutions.

Many accusations and criticisms of indecisiveness and passivity are leveled against the LCY; these are often of a marginal and abstract kind. What must the LCY do at this point? Stipe Suvar's view expressed at the end of the 12-hour LCY Central Committee Presidium debate on the present economic, political, and security state of the country and on the tasks of the LCY can be seen as a reply to this question: "If we do not unswervingly oppose pressures and reply to accusations, and if we refuse to accept justified criticism, there will be no second chance for us." This assessment can in no way be thought of merely as an appeal; it expressed the necessity for Communists and party bodies to mark a decisive turning point and to renew themselves in the spirit of the conclusions of the LCY Conference of 3 months ago, which seem to have sunk into oblivion.

Clumsiness and waywardness in carrying out party conclusions have put the LCY in the position of being forced more to defend itself from attacks than to play its proper role in society, which is to stimulate and mobilize organized forces and the entire creative potential of society to overcome the crisis. For this reason, it is not hard to gain the impression that party organs are on the fringe of social events, or that processes in society are diverting the LCY from its own goals. This is certainly becoming the pretext for even some LCY members to assert ever more loudly that they have lost their faith in the party as the advance guard of the workers class and, according to them, is even becoming a reason to stand out against party conclusions. They seem to forget that, by the principle of democratic centralism, it is they themselves who are ideopolitically responsible for their failure to carry out these conclusions. Meanwhile, as for their assumption of positions quite opposed to party conclusions, there should not even be any discussion of whether there is a place for them within the LCY ranks.

The period since the LCY Conference, and particularly since the 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum, can be considered to show typical examples of failures to respect the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY. In illustration, we might mention the party conclusions on the consistent struggle against nationalism by each within his own people, on preventing the negative politicization of public opinion over the constitutional changes, and those calling a halt to baseless accusations against cadres, biased calls for accountability, single-nationality gatherings and rallies, the further disintegration of society in all fields, and discussions, articles, and radio and television programs that unleash the passions of intranational hatred and appeal to national homogenization, and so on. It follows that all LCY members, quite apart from the positions they hold, are presented with the inescapable task of establishing responsibility for these failures to respect party standpoints on the principle of democratic centralism. Otherwise, even more ideological confusion may spread among the ranks of the LCY membership, and Communists will be subjected to the pressure of a conservative mentality, bureaucratic resistance, retrograde tendencies, and undemocratic methods.

At a time when we see a quite open social stratification among people (there are early-morning queues for "people's bread"), there is a need for the clear recognition of another form of "stratification" among LCY members, which must be achieved if the principles and programmed goals of the LCY are not to slip through our fingers. For this category of Communists, their starting point must be unity in ideology and action—a unity that can of course not be built either on political or national exclusiveness, but only on the principled policies of the LCY and on mutual trust, on class allegiance and on a commitment to the democratic solution of the key problems of our society. It is clear that this is the time of our final testing.

## BORBA Comments on Kosovo Defense Committee

*AU1209193888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 88 p 2*

[Jovan Pjevic commentary: "Committees on a Thin Thread"]

[Text] In the Yugoslav public and reality there are at the moment only two known "extrasystemic" ["vansistemski"] (according to the interpretation of political forums), irregular or semi-legal "committees" which are involved in organizing (also extrasystemic) "protest" meetings or "meetings of solidarity" and which have appeared, either accidentally or not, at roughly the same time.

The Slovene Protest [subhead]

The Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights which appeared at the time of the arrest of the former youth leader Jansa and his friends for the disclosure of military secrets and which at that time announced that it had no other aims than to defend these four men from "an unjustified and invented accusation," "became famous" by organizing two "protest meetings" (a cultural meeting in the center of Ljubljana and a protest meeting in Mostec, the vacation resort of Ljubljana people, on Slovene Uprising Day) and by organizing a protest guard outside the Ljubljana Military Court during the trial of the four men.

From the very beginning, this committee has enjoyed the support of the republican youth leadership and the MLADINA magazine, and the obvious benevolence of the Ljubljana information media. Republican state and political forums have neither supported nor condemned it and have even agreed to direct contact at the "highest level" with the committee's representatives.

As soon as this committee appeared, the Slovene SAWP leadership set up its own Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms within the SAWP Republican Conference (which many uninformed people confuse with the above-mentioned "extrasystemic" committee) which acts as its own kind of competition for the defense of Jansa and friends, although certain personalities are members of both committees and implement identical or "very similar" stands.

As is usual, the committee for the defense of Jansa and friends also has its "leaders." The most popular and most successful among them in "leading the masses" is Igor Bavcar.

The committee had some success in gathering the masses, thanks above all to the electrified atmosphere which was created with stories about an alleged military coup and about the intentions of the dogmatic, unitaristic-centralist forces to hinder, with the help of the Yugoslav People's Army, "the nascent process of democratization" and the creation of "a legal state" and "civil society" primarily in Slovenia. It was also helped by events in Serbia concerning Kosovo and the constitutional changes, particularly the "extrasystemic" activity of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. Because of all this and much else besides, the opinion was formed among the public that the real danger of greater Serbian hegemonism and unitarism was growing.

The political ambitions of "Bavcar's committee" go beyond its original announced activity only to defend Jansa and friends. In this connection, the intentions and political calculations are nevertheless "spoiled" to a significant extent by the "competitive" Initiative Council for Setting Up a Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms, which is, according to a statement by one of its "leaders," (Mojce Drcar-Murko) only formally within the SAWP Republican Conference and is otherwise autonomous!

Serbo-Montenegrin Solidarity [subhead]

The "extrasystemic" Organization Committee for Organizing Solidarity Meetings With Serbs and Montenegrins outside the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has in recent weeks put the Ljubljana committee in the shade primarily because of the mass nature of its rallies, the reactions of some political forums and their information media, and because they carry out their "task" (this is a precedent) on "someone else's territory."

Most of the credit for the "success" of the committee of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins does not go, as is stressed, to their "self-appointed leaders" and "the gray eminences of the leadership of the SR of Serbia who inspire and direct them," but above all to the failure of the "organized subjective socialist forces" in general and in Kosovo in particular.

"Solidarity meetings" on "someone else's territory" could contribute to smashing the indolent attitude of a large part of the Yugoslav public, if citizens of Albanian nationality with whom they would have to live in harmony, also participated in them.

Precisely because ethnic Albanians, who make up 90 percent of the population of the province and therefore have a deciding influence on the general situation and on relations between nationalities and people in the province, do not participate in them, these rallies do more harm than good.

Serbian nationalists exploit these rallies by promising that peace and tranquility will prevail in Kosovo once the SR of Serbia receives all the prerogatives of a state (which it certainly should receive according to the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution), although the situation in some nationally mixed communes in the south of Serbia, over which the SR of Serbia has "full jurisdiction," is similar to the situation in Kosovo and in some communes in the SR of Macedonia which has no provinces.

The Albanian separatists exploit them as "extra proof" that Albanians cannot live with Serbs and Montenegrins and in order to consolidate their corrupt tribal rule over the Albanian and other inhabitants. They also exploit them in certain bureaucratic structures which oppose necessary and useful reforms, particularly in the political system, because they are afraid that with these reforms they will loose the ruling positions that they have obtained.

In themselves the "spontaneous," "extrasystemic," and more or less mass meetings and rallies are not dangerous for our society. Experience shows that strikes as well as "extrasystemic" rallies do not solve problems. However, they have revealed all the inefficiency of the inaugurated political system, as well as the numerous weaknesses of our "organized subjective forces." Much greater harm may be done to us by those who, instead of facing directly and in a reasonable way the participants of the rallies, "on the spot" direct at these same participants forum-like denunciations and threats from closed offices and use them for the unprincipled settling of petty, political accounts and squabbling. In the same way, they also use the information media which, in line with the desires of their "political backers," uncritically and in a manner akin to that of soccer fans, unreservedly egg on and popularize the protest meetings or condemn them as a whole without differentiating between them, as virtually the greatest evil and danger to our society.

### Communists Hear of 'Fear' in Priluzje, Kosovo

*AU1309090988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 13 Sep 88*

[Text] A meeting of Communists at Priluzje near Vucitrn has been attended by Miloje Djukanovic, member of the LCY Central Committee; Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia; and General Nebojsa Tica. The meeting noted that the political and security situation is grave and even dramatic. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins does not stop, intranational relations are deteriorating, and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo is not being implemented.

Albanian separatists are no longer acting underground, but publicly. They have been most often attacking children recently. Many facts about the oppression of Serbs and Montenegrins were presented. Fear reigns in Priluzje. Toward evening, the sound of machine-gun fire has been heard recently from the nearby Albanian villages.

### Slovene Daily Comments on Serbian Leadership

*AU1309122188 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Sep 88 p 1*

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Vlado Slamberger: "A Correction?"]

[Text] If anybody had had any doubts about us sitting on a powder keg, or if he had comforted himself with the fact that the situation was deteriorating 500 or 1,000 kilometers away from our doorstep, he must have realized after the latest events that matters are serious.

If after the latest gatherings we still spoke about rallies outside the social system institutions—while the crowds were growing like mushrooms—two messages from within the system in Belgrade yesterday only aggravated the situation:

—An irrevocable demand that the joint militia detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs should get even greater powers in Kosovo and that it should protect the personal and material safety of all Kosovo people, especially the Serbs and the Montenegrins;

—The LCY Central Committee should adopt clear political stances on rallies, because the present conclusion (adopted at the 16th LCY Central Committee session to the effect that the holding of meetings through Yugoslavia should be discontinued immediately) was false.

The first demand is but a step toward a state of emergency in the province, as we had in 1981. The lesson to be drawn could be that a solution with the help of federal militiamen could be imposed everywhere in Yugoslavia where counterrevolution exists. We know, however, who—apart from the Kosovo people—was the last who had to defend himself against such accusations.

The second demand may mean two things: Either the prestige of the Yugoslav political leadership will rise again or it will fall even more. The Party never held itself to be infallible, and it has corrected itself several times since the war, but never under such circumstances when even a tiny spark may cause an explosion. It is clear that some of the 40 leaders who have been blamed by the crowds will have to go. The first one to go will probably be Petar Matic, for he is losing his presidency by at least 3 to 5. Those in the SR of Serbia who were convinced that the situation in Kosovo cannot be changed overnight likewise had to go. The situation still shows that they were right. However, unfulfilled promises can be covered up at least for a while, and they can be covered up with slogans at mass meetings and with calls to arms, too.

### Veterans' Leaders Postpone Decision on Matic

*LD0809084288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 7 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's veterans' organisation leadership decided to postpone the debate on demands to dismiss Petar Matic as its president today.

The decision was adopted with a majority vote, with 12 votes for and eight against.

The majority stand is that the debate should be scheduled for as soon as possible but only after the organisation recieves the neccesary materials on Matic's speech at the Vojvodina Provincial Party Central Committee session.

Matic and other Vojvodina Province officials attacked Serbian Party Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic and energetically opposed the Serbian leaderhips' demands for constitutional changes which would give the republic greater authority over its autonomous provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo, primarily in internal affairs, national defence, legislature and international cooperation.

The Serbian veterans' organisation request for Matic's dismissal after the session was widely supported by many vaterans' organisation bodies throughout the country.

The Montenegro and Croatia republican veterans' organisations supported the request of the retired general with the explanation that his stands damage the unity of the organisation.

The veterans' organisation will discuss Matic's responsibility before the coming League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee session devoted to the responsibility of officials who caused a great dispute between the Serbian and Vojvodina leaderships.

## LCY Congress To Meet on Veterans' Leaders

*LD1209142788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 12 Sep 88*

[Text] Krusevac, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Krusevac Federation of Veterans Associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR] municipal board presidium requested an urgent reply to the question of who gave the letter to Petar Matic and why. The question was also asked why no one else had received the same letter before Petar Matic, and especially why it had not been received by Dusan Pekic, to whom it referred.

The Krusevac war veterans decided that Petar Matic could no longer remain not just SUBNOR federal board president but even a member of the board itself. Full support was rendered for Dusan Pekic, SUBNOR federal board secretary. The Krusevac war veterans proposed that Dragoslav Markovic be expelled from the LCY and the Federation Council.

The Krusevac war veterans give full support to the SR of Serbia leadership led by Petar Gracanin and Slobodan Milosevic. They have been asked to persist in their efforts on the demands placed before them by the people. It was also decided that a special LCY and SUBNOR congress would be convened as soon as possible and that the election of the new leadership would be carried out not in accordance with the key republican and provincial parity formula, but in accordance with their abilities and loyalty to the self-management system.

## Markovic Letter to LCY Presidium Denounced

*AU0809184488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 88*

[Text] Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Council of the Federation, has asked TANJUG to publish his letter to the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 19 July this year. As he explains in an accompanying letter, he decided on this step because his—as he stresses—unread and unpublished letter has been criticized at several public meetings.

Dragoslav Markovic in his letter accuses the present leadership of the LC of Serbia and the SR of Serbia that in its efforts to settle the situation in Kosovo and amend the Constitution of the republic, it manipulates the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo wanting to aggravate the crisis in society.

Markovic interprets the rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins, their protests, and even their Novi Sad march, as nourishing irrational national feelings and passions. He says in his letter that in essence some people in the Serbian leadership do not consider it very important whether actual results will be achieved in settling the situation in Kosovo and opposing the pressure of Albanian nationalists' separatist forces and essential changes will be achieved.

Regarding his work in the top Serbian leadership and other officials of that time, Markovic finds plenty of excuses for overlooking everything that happened in Kosovo over many years. As the basic reason for his addressing the LCY Presidium, he cites his plea and request that this be established.

[Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 8 September repeats the above item and adds: "In the present political situation, in the multitude of various opinions, differing both in their intent and in their aims, this latest opinion by Dragoslav Markovic, former republican and federal official, cannot essentially change the relationship of forces, but it can contribute to inflaming the passions, emotions, and confusion. On the one hand this letter will be seized on by those forces who would like to affix another label of great Serbian pretensions upon the actions of socialist, self-managing, and democratic forces in Serbia. On the other hand, it provokes even more revulsion of the working people and citizens who expect that the sufferings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo will finally be relieved and the necessary constitutional changes will be carried out conscientiously and democratically.

"The contradiction in the letter in which Markovic says that he himself advocated a different constitutional position of Serbia in his time, and his alleged disagreement with the method which is to achieve this now, obviously conceals a desire for justification because the mistakes made then must now be corrected by somebody else who enjoys the support of the people."]

## Army Newspaper Comments on Bohinj Declaration

*AU1309124288 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2565 8 Sep 88 p 3*

[M. Petrovic commentary: "An Imposed Declaration"]

[Text] "As participants at the conference of supporters from 16 different countries of the civilian alternative to military service in Bohinj, Yugoslavia, we are seriously concerned about recent events in Slovenia. We have been informed of the inhumane treatment of "the rebels of conscience" in Yugoslavia and we are concerned because of the fact that in the last few years, only the check of public opinion on trials in military courts has in some way improved the difficult position of "the rebels of conscience."

According to an article in BORBA, this is the first passage of the so-called declaration of the international conference of supporters of a civilian alternative to military service which was organized 25-28 August by the working group for peace movements within the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference and the Section for Peace Culture within the Student Cultural Art Center forum which has caused much confusion and even complaints among the public.

On this occasion, the KOMUNIST commentator also recently wondered: "Is there a country anywhere in the world where a legal sociopolitical organization holds a conference on the territory of that country which is directed against its army and state?" Many others have asked similar questions on this occasion and even much earlier, as well as in sharper terms. However, according to an unwritten rule, answers to them were often either lacking or were late in coming. The ones who kept silent the longest and the most often were those who were compelled by the nature of their work or their conscience to resist the exploitation of freedom and democracy in their own ranks as soon as possible.

Will the recent Bohinj conference of supporters of a civilian alternative to military service prove or deny that "rule"? This is a question which is difficult to answer at this moment. Especially if it is known that the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference, that is its former leadership, has not always been so prepared to remove the "cobwebs" from its eyes, as the youth demanded at the 12th Congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia. How else can one explain the fact that even after 6 months it has not satisfied the "request" of the highest youth forum in the country to present it with an analysis of the writing of MLADINA.

Although the public has been deprived of a more detailed analysis by the Slovene youth federation of the writing of this youth newspaper which would specify what are attacks on the army and what is part of the mission to socialize defense, it is difficult to believe that the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference will not turn its attention more quickly than it has done before to the aforementioned declaration of individuals in Bohinj, which contains numerous ill-argued assessments of the situation in Yugoslavia, Slovenia, and the Yugoslav People's Army and which, apart from anything else, was formulated by its own working group and some of its members.

Bearing in mind the fact that not one participant at the conference, apart from the Slovene youth, sought a special declaration concerning the situation in their country and given the fact that the guests were presented with a dreary picture of Yugoslavia (from which it can be concluded that we are drastically persecuting free-thinking people and those who are oriented toward pacifism), one can work out with much certainty who wanted this conference to be arranged and the declaration to be formulated in this way.

No matter how much the organizers of the conference strove to brandish the aforementioned declaration and to cover themselves with an international "veil," they have in a certain way also lost the most important "argument" which they have so far been bandying about. They can in fact no longer boast about their cultured level of discussion. Instead of offering solution to the problem of what is the legal basis for recognizing the freedom (and reproof) of conscience, the peaceniks have put on the "agenda" the Jansa case and military courts and gone even further with the topic "Military intervention in Slovene life." Although they are aware of the fact that laws, including those that do not permit a civilian alternative to military service, are written by society and not the Yugoslav People's Army, they attempt to draw the Army into the polemics. In fact, it is the Army which is their preoccupation and target and not the civilian alternative to military service.

There is no need to comment on this unique exploitation of a conference.

## Bosnia-Herzegovina Discusses Nationalism Issue

*LD0809091188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2214 GMT 7 Sep 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, September 7 (TANJUG)—The seriously affected unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) which is becoming more and more confederate, furnishes room to other political orientations of which the growing nationalism is the most detrimental for the country's stability, Abdulah Mutapcic, Central Committee Presidency President of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, warned today.

At the Bosnia-Herzegovina League of Communists Central Committee session devoted to the effects of the growing crisis in the province of Kosovo on the political situation in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mutapcic assessed, speaking about protest rallies of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in towns outside their province, that they do not contribute to resolving the issue in Kosvov, nor do they stop the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists. On the contrary, Mutapcic considers, they could only further inflame nationalist feelings and hatred.

Mutapcic stressed that the practice of rallies on national basis is particularly unacceptable in Bosnia-Herzegovina as it would mean the negation of its national being. Serbs, Croats and Muslems live in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The committee for organising protest rallies of Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo had scheduled a rally in the Bosnia-Herzegovina town of Jajce for September 10, but to this the highest forums of the republic said that meetings on national basis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be prevented with all available means.

According to Mutapcic Kosovo is the crucial issue for Yugoslavia. Either we defeat the counterrevolution in Kosovo, or we place in question the integrity of the country and allow this barrel of explosive to go off and cause unforeseeable consequences, not only for the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia, but the stability of relations in the Balkans, and even Europe, Mutapcic said.

He pointed out the disunity, increasingly evident disintegration tendencies in Yugoslavia and growing nationalism and said that people were afraid for the future of their children and were not afraid to show it.

He sharply condemned the activities of the mentioned committee for the organization of protest rallies, and assessed the rally scheduled to be held in Jajce as a gross political manipulation. He said the members of the committee had visited some places in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the neighbouring Republic of Croatia where they had misled people, resorting to manipulation and promises.

Party meetings are under way in Bosnia-Herzegovina at which support is being offered to the party leadership to not allow at any cost gatherings on national basis in the republic.

Thus it was warned at the meeting of the party organization of the Council of the Republic, writes the daily OSLOBODJENJE today, that national homogeneization is dangerous and that the holding of meetings does not contribute to the settlement of the hot Kosovo problems.

Hasan Grabcanovic, one-time prominent Bosnian-Herzegovinian politician, particularly sharply attacked Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic, writes the daily. Most important to Milosevic, (?grabcanovic said), is to throw the Kosovo leadership on its knees and carry out constitutional changes at his own discretion, and his actions in Vojvodina have the same aim.

Grabcanovic considers that the committee for protest rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins has become a shock unit of Milosevic's policy for breaking the resistance to constitutional changes made to Milosevic's measure.

Ahmed Catic, secretary of the party organization of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Council, said that the situation in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia should openly be questioned while Dane Olbina noted that one must be politically naive to believe that the committee (for protest rallies) is working without tight links with the Serbian leadership. There will be no differentiation in the Central Committee of the League of communists of Yugoslavia until Milosevic is told to stop, Olbina added.

## TANJUG on Upcoming Economic Reform

*LD1109212688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 11 Sep 88*

["Pool" item by Dragovan Lazarevic]

[Text] Belgrade, September 11 (TANJUG)—The forthcoming autumn should at least give a hint of an economic "spring" next January. An estimate like this is probably pretentious just now because an economic crisis is not possible quickly to overcome, but, viewing it from a long-term prospect, it could hold good. For, in the months to come both the Yugoslav Government and the Assembly of Yugoslavia for the most part will deal with reforming the country' economic system so as to make possible, as early as from the new year's beginning, to set up a milieu suitable for market laws to work.

In line with constitutional amendments and guidelines for the government's ad hoc commission for economic system reforms, the applying of thirty or so laws would start from next January, judging by everything, and of the rest of ten in mid-1989.

In all likelihood, a draft law on foreign investments would be first to see its day in order to open the door more widely for woule-be "foreign-exchange" investors. Possibilities for them would become more numerous and various, including their forming of mixed and independent enterprises.

A modern, short and clear law is needed to lay down what is permitted and all the rest leave to contracts with foreign partners, it is considered. Would-be foreign investors would be given guarantees for their earning and transferring their profits, right to participate in management proportionately to their role and working relations would be regulated by collective labour contracts. Foreigners have also drawn attention to the necessity for would-be investors to enjoy an adequate legal safety.

The passing of the new law does not automatically mean that foreigners would rush in with their capital, this meaning that the runaway inflation should be bridled more quickly, that the whole economy should be stabilized and reformed.

The area of the law on associated labour would be "covered" with several regulations which, maybe, would replace it. Involved are bills on enterprises, property and working relations.

Major changes are being provided in the field of ownership with stress being laid on the must to protect and enrich socially-owned property, it being "everybody's and nobody's" at present. In sight is pluralism for property—social, private, mixed and cooperative ones—with the social property to further prevail.

The self-managing enterprise would be the basic and a free, as it is said, subject of businessmaking on the market and the bearer of development. Choosing from among the so-called narrower and wider forms of organising would be left to the collective's interests and freedom of action. In fact, it will be kept trying to shun the so-far organisational schematism.

It is being intended to precisely delimit competencies for self-managing and operational bodies, implying suitable powers and account rendering for directors who would be really chosen by workers' councils.

A bill on securities also indicates a possibility for stockholding and buying various securities so as to reorient the population's practice of keeping their money for a rainy day in their "mattresses" but to invest it instead in the national economy's courses.

Reform theses also mention a possibility for workers, on definite conditions, to "buy up" their enterprise. Having in mind, however, Yugoslavia's pays and wages now, this possibility usual in the world, is "a matter" requiring a time of some length—in the future.

The category of profitmaking would be introduced in businessmaking, as conceived, and banks would at last become financial organisations on their own, responsible for their transactions and freed from care by sociopolitical communities they "belong to."

In the opinion of reform-makers, pricing would be done freely as a rule while taking supply-and-demand trends into account.

**Papers, TV License Price Increases in Croatia**
*LD1109201288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Summary] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Starting on Monday daily papers in Croatia will cost 700 dinars per weekday copy and 800 dinars for Saturday or Sunday special weekend issues. Radio and television licence fees have also been increased, by 60 percent. Starting on 1 October the monthly television receiver licence fee will be 16,000 dinars.

**Mikulic Speaks on Small Businesses in Celje**
*AU0909195488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] Branko Mikulic, FEC president, has opened the International Handicrafts Fair in Celje. Over 3,000 craftsmen and small business associated labor organizations, as well as 15 foreign exhibitors, are exhibiting their products there. At the opening of the fair, Branko Mikulic spoke about the importance of the further development of this economic activity and said among other things:

[Begin Mikulic recording] By proposing and taking appropriate measures within the powers of the federation, and by suggestions that programs and measures for the development of small businesses be adopted primarily in the republics and provinces, the FEC has been investing efforts to create as favorable conditions for this development as possible.

We have proceeded from the fact that great unexploited opportunities exist in this field, and that their activation will essentially contribute to a quicker and more harmonious development of our society, to a restructuring of the economy, a rationalization of production, investment of considerable people's resources in production activities, an increase in the production of goods and services, quicker adoption of new technologies, an increase in the productivity of labor and in employment, and thus to an increase in the overall efficiency of our economy and its competitiveness in the domestic and foreign markets.

The causes of a slower development of small businesses than envisaged in social policy statements are to be found in a dogmatic attitude toward this sector of the economy, as well as in certain limitations imposed by the Constitution and the system. The proposed changes in the Constitution and the reform of the economic system will remove the limitations of this kind. [end recording]

**Dizdarevic Receives Romanian Minister in Zagreb**
*LD1109170388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today in Zagreb in the course of his visit to fall fair received Ioan Ungur, minister for foreign trade and international economic relations of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for a brief talk.

The importance of overall cooperation between the two neighboring friendly and socialist countries was stressed on this occasion and economic cooperation described as successfully developing.

As on previous occasions particular impetus to bilateral cooperation will be provided by the coming talks between Yugoslav President Dizdarevic, and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The talk was also attended by Nenad Krekic, chairman of the Yugoslav side to the mixed committee, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign economic relations.

**'Program of Cooperation' Signed With Albania**
*LD0909205188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1507 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, September 9 (TANJUG)—A program of cooperation in the areas of science, education and culture for 1988 and 1989 was signed today and this closed the negotiations held here on cultural-educational cooperation between Yugoslavia and Albania.

The document was signed on the basis of an agreement between the two countries reached in Tirane on February 19, 1988.

The program was signed by Dr. Marijan Strbasic, director of the federal department for international scientific, educational-cultural and technical cooperation, for the Yugoslav side, and Jorko Melica, president of the Albanian committee for cultural cooperation and friendly relations with other countries, for Albania.

Albanian delegation head Melica was received today by Yugoslav Deputy Premier Milos Milosavljevic.

**Loncar Returns to Belgrade From Nicosia**
*LD1109165788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 11 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, returned from Nicosia to Belgrade today. The head of Yugoslav's diplomatic service headed a delegation to the Nonaligned Ministerial Conference in Cyprus.

The meeting of the nonaligned countries ended late last night with the adoption of an extensive document on the political and economic situation in the world. The 4-day meeting in which 101 countries took part was held a year before the ninth summit, which will bring together the heads of state and government of all member-countries in Belgrade in September 1989.

**Culafic, Iraqi Minister Discuss Cooperation**
*LD0909220588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 9 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—Dobroslav Culafic federal secretary for internal affairs, and Samir 'Abd al-Wahhab, Iraqi interior minister, held talks today in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on topical questions of interest for the security of the two countries and further promotion of cooperation in internal affairs. Al-Wahhab is the first Iraqi interior minister to visit Yugoslavia. The occasion was also used for an exchange of opinion on the security aspects of the development of the situation in the region, on its effect on the relations within the international community and, consequently, on the security of Iraq and Yugoslavia.

It was stressed during the talks that relations between the two friendly and nonaligned countries were good before as well as during the war with Iran, and that the end of this war has opened wide possibilities for the continuation and expansion of all-around cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iraq. This especially concerns economic cooperation through still greater inclusion of our work organizations in the construction of economic and other projects in Iraq and the development of higher forms of cooperation, as well as cooperation in many other spheres of joint interest, including that of security which represents an important part of overall bilateral relations. It was stressed that Yugoslavia made a great contribution to the cessation of the war conflict, and that the two countries are making efforts to bring about lasting peace in this part of the world. The appointment of General Jovic as commander of the UN peace-keeping forces constitutes a tribute to Yugoslavia for its principled and consistent policy in international relations.

Culafic and Al-Wahhab agreed to intensify existing cooperation between the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Iraqi Interior Ministry. In the forthcoming period this cooperation should be consolidated and especially promoted as regards the exchange of security information of interest to both countries, the protection of our citizens staying in Iraq and Iraqi citizens in the SFRY, the solution of certain questions related to the status of our workers in Iraq, and the elimination of organized forms of international crime. Specific forms of exchange of experience in individual fields of work of the two internal affairs departments were also agreed.

The interior minister paid a visit to the "Josip Broz Tito" Memorial Center.

**Presidency Member Vlajkovic Well After Surgery**
*LD0709220988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 7 Sep 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—Radovan Vlajkovic, a member of the SFRY Presidency, had a successful operation on Monday 5 September in the clinic for cardiovascular surgery of the institute for cardiovascular diseases in Sremska Kamenica. The open-heart surgery was carried out by a team led by Professor Ninoslav Radovanovic. The postoperative treatment, according to a statement issued by the doctors' consultative committee, is normal and Radovan Vlajkovic feels well.